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THE

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AND

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THE

CHRISTIAN EXAMINER

AND

RELIGIOUS MISCELLANY.

JULY, 1851.

Art. I. — DR. WOODS'S WORKS.*

Dr. Woods is one of the veteran theologians of New England. He has been in "perils by sea, and perils by land, and perils among false brethren"; and he has escaped them all; has lived to a mature old age, full of wisdom and honors, respected by a thousand sons, scattered all over our own country, dispersed among the islands of all the seas, — dwelling by

> "India's coral strand,
> Where Afric's sunny fountains
> Roll down their golden sand,"

on the vine-clad hill-sides of Palestine, amid the scented groves of Persia, under the lofty pillars of Athens, sitting in the highest seats of profane and sacred learning, directing minds through the most abstruse and perplexing mazes of thought, and teaching the forest child, in his wilderness home, to distinguish between the different forms of the letters which compose his barbarous language. No wonder he can look back upon his life with gratitude. What an influence for good has gone forth into the world

* *The Works of* Leonard Woods, D. D., *lately Professor of Christian Theology in the Theological Seminary at Andover.* In five volumes. Boston: B. Perkins & Co. 1849-50. 8vo. pp. xxiv., 564, 575, 596, 579, 568.

from that little lecture-room in the seminary on Andover Hill! For "thirty-eight years," says he, "I met you in that pleasant room, in successive classes, from day to day." What a period of labor! Of labor, we say, for Dr. Woods did not make his Professor's chair a sinecure. A scrupulousness, amounting sometimes almost to a disease, marked all his preparations for the lecture-room. When his pupils asked for bread he never gave them a stone for the purpose of saving labor.

Two years ago Dr. Woods resigned the professorship which he had filled for thirty-eight years. But he did not cease from labor. His pupils requested him to prepare for the press the "Lectures" which he had read to his classes, and such other portions of his works as he desired to have appear in a permanent form. He immediately set about a thorough revision of his "Lectures," entirely rewriting some of them. The first three volumes of his Works, as published, contain these Lectures as "revised." Only one hundred and twenty-eight of them are published. "The author has judged it best," he says in his Prefatory Remarks, "in this publication, instead of attempting to make out a particular discussion of every branch of theology, to attend chiefly to those subjects which he considered as of the highest importance, especially at the present day." We have not, therefore, the whole of the Andover course in "Christian Theology," but those parts only "which the errors and erratic tendencies which prevail" render of the "highest importance." What those "erratic tendencies" are we shall soon see.

The last two volumes of the Works contain "Letters, Essays, and Sermons." The celebrated "Letters to Unitarians," which Professor Ware senior answered, we might say refuted, fill more than half of one of the volumes. Then come his eight "Letters to Dr. N. W. Taylor," of New Haven, with their "Appendix." Then an "Examination of the Doctrine of Perfection," with its "Appendix," containing a "Letter to Dr. Mahan." "A Dissertation on Miracles" and a "Course of Study" conclude the fourth volume. In the fifth, we have three "Letters to Young Ministers"; five essays on the "Philosophy of the Mind"; two essays on "Cause and Effect, in Connection with Fatalism and Free Agency";

one essay on the "Efficacy of the Word of God"; and twenty-five sermons.

There is but very little new matter in the last two volumes. Most of it had appeared before in controversial pamphlets and religious periodicals. The whole, however, has been subjected to revision, which with Dr. Woods was a careful, painfully careful scrutiny. The whole work is preceded by a most beautiful "Dedicatory Address" to his "Beloved Pupils." It is a noble monument of a life-long labor. It is the refined gold of a remarkably acute, cautious, laborious mind. For thirty-eight years its author had occupied a position second to none in this country in furnishing means for thorough and extensive theological inquiry. He had also the experience of twelve years, or thereabouts, in the ministry, before he entered upon the labors of his professorship, so that, in fact, we have in these five volumes the best thoughts, in their best dress, of a distinguished theologian, who had been maturing, revising, and correcting his opinions, with the aid of the best lights of the last half-century.

We hesitate not to say, that it will be an enduring monument to his learning and acuteness. We thank him for it most heartily. We have read recently the principal part of it. There are parts of it which we shall read again. If Dr. Woods, with his profound sagacity, his extensive erudition, his acute perception, his instinctive and acquired wariness, his practised adroitness, and half-century of discipline and experience, cannot defend, vindicate, and establish Calvinism, no one can do it. He understands as well as any living theologian the weak points in his system, and he knows well how to cover them from discovery and attack, or how to defend them most successfully when assailed. He knows very well, too, how to take to the bush when the battle is too hot in the open field, and to disappear under a cloud of interrogations which so blind and bewilder an unpractised controversialist, that he thinks he is answered when he is only confused. We think we can see the wonder which sat upon the faces of the class when some puzzling question had been answered in the true Yankee fashion of asking half a dozen others.

We say, then, that here is a standard and complete

vindication and support of Calvinism, as far as it can be vindicated and supported. If this is not conclusive, nothing can be. If Dr. Woods has not put the Five Points out of the reach of "weapons unanointed," then no one can do it. We know that there is very much spurious Calvinism under that name; and Dr. Woods knew it too, very well, as we shall show as we go on. But we are not speaking of that new light which emulates the brightness of the old. We are speaking of the real article, the genuine faith, once delivered to the saints by John Calvin, or earlier by Augustine. There has been a sad declension in orthodoxy in New England. This work will show how sadly the Church has forsaken, if not its first love, its first opinions, and how far it has floated past the anchorage ground of Andover. We are well enough aware that many of our Evangelical friends will not admit that Dr. Woods is the exponent of orthodoxy, or that he is their chosen champion. All this shows what we have just asserted to be true. Young orthodoxy has rejected the fathers. There is weeping and lamentation "because the children are not." There is much spurious coin in circulation bearing the image and superscription of Calvin. As far as we are concerned, it is a matter of indifference; but there is a moral element in the matter of some importance. There is, we will not say a pretence, but a claim, that the Evangelical body are all of one household of faith; that there is unity of opinion among its members; that it is the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever. Now this is not true. We ask no pardon of our orthodox friends for speaking out so bluntly about it. They know it as well as we do; and we do not like to see false colors. Dr. Woods is the champion of "Calvinistic orthodoxy," not indeed as it has been modified, and emasculated by recent philosophers. He does not use a rasp, it is true, as some of his older brethren did when they would stab an opponent. He has a keen and richly set rapier.

The style of Dr. Woods, which we are reminded by our last remark that we must say something about, is simple and clear. There is not a passage which we remember in the whole five volumes which is turgid or affected. The style is a model in this respect; and it is as clear as it is simple. The most difficult points in

metaphysics are stated in language which is perfectly transparent. Perspicuity is a marked characteristic of the style of the whole work. A reader is not compelled to go over a passage twice to learn its meaning. Certainly Dr. Woods should have the credit of attaining to remarkable purity, simplicity, and perspicuity in writing. We were as distinctly impressed with this peculiarity of his Works as by any other one thing in them. We happened to be reading Chalmers's "Institutes of Theology" at the same time that we were examining Dr. Woods's Works, and were forcibly struck by the different styles of the two men, — the one rendering what was clear obscure, and what was obscure invisible, covering up his ideas, if he had any, under a mass of involved, parenthetical sentences, which made a passage through them as difficult as that through a hemlock swamp, leaving you in your exit in perfect confusion as to your whereabouts and what-about; the other removing particle by particle the dust from before your eyes, lifting up, speck after speck, the fog that hung over the subject, laying down proposition after proposition with crystal clearness, and evolving light from darkness, order from chaos, till the whole subject was as transparent before your eyes as the sea of glass seen in the vision of the Apocalypse. Let this suffice for what we have to say of the position of Dr. Woods, of his ability to maintain his opinions, of his being an exponent of Calvinism or orthodoxy as it was, and of his remarkably excellent style of composition.

There is another characteristic of the "Lectures" which we wish to notice in passing. It is the religious tone which appears in them. They are not dry, scientific discussions of truth, with as little allusion to God and duty as would be found in a treatise by an atheistic astronomer on his favorite science. The crying fault of theology is, that it is divorced from religion, devotion. When one enters a lecture-room of theology, it is like entering Ezekiel's valley of dry bones. Bones, dry bones, very dry bones, of old bodies of divinity, and decomposed systems of theology, are lying thickly all around him, without life, skin, or flesh; and apparently without the possibility of ever having them. We belong to the old-fashioned class of persons who believe that piety, a devout, religious spirit, is as necessary to a clear perception of the truths of

theology, as logical acuteness and vigorous ratiocination. "To pray well is to study well" in theology. Dr. Woods has remembered this. There is a religious spirit breathing all through these "Lectures," which gives the fragrance of sanctity to them. A student enters upon their study as a devotee enters a cathedral, not as a cabinet-maker enters his shop. There is a constant liability, in the study of theology, to forget the reality in reasoning upon the abstraction; to forget that God, Christ, heaven, hell, man, eternity, regeneration, holiness, sin, are solemn facts, not metaphysical abstractions, — momentous realities, not ideas to be put into the alembic of logic to be melted down, transmuted, and coined over at pleasure; not articles of jugglery, which, after all manner of fantastic tricks have been played with them, are to be thrown aside because we are tired of them. The state of the heart is as important as the state of the head to one who would seek the truth in theology. The steam which rises up from the heated passions, indulged appetites, and worldly desires of the heart, will as effectually obscure the mental eye, and cloud its vision, as the mists and vapors which rise from the morass will dim the light and obstruct the penetrating power of the telescope which is pointed towards the heavens. Nothing, in our opinion, has done more to infuse the leaven of the pride of philosophy and "profane and vain babblings" into theology, than the divorce which has been made between it and piety. It has been looked upon simply as a science, not as a life-giving power. It has been assumed that the Almighty could be found out to perfection, and men whose beards were not grown have undertaken to measure the depth and height and breadth and length of His wisdom, love, and justice, the whisper only of whose attributes we have heard. Theology is studied with a deep curiosity, it may be, but not with sanctified affections. Theological schools are entered by men who desire, not to preach the Gospel, but to find out whether there is any Gospel to preach; not to proclaim Jesus as the Saviour of the world, but to learn whether any Jesus ever was in the world. Hence a theological school, instead of being the residence of young men whose hearts are all in a glow to preach the unsearchable riches of Christ, who feel that a woe is upon them if they preach not the Gospel, and who

have entered the school of the prophets to prepare themselves for that work, may be thronged with those who are like the Athenians, desirous to hear or to tell some new thing, who are not certain yet whether there are any "riches" at all in Christ, and who find it convenient to avail themselves of eleemosynary aids for a few years, while they gratify a natural curiosity in learning whether Jesus is the Christ, or whether they are to look for another. This peril in theological schools cannot be too carefully resisted. We thank Dr. Woods for having set an example worthy of all imitation, by infusing into all his "Lectures" a spirit of devotion, reverence, piety. The attempt made in some systems of theology, and especially in many German authors, to press out every spark of life, every drop of blood, in condensing theology into a science, is ruinous. So far has this process been carried in some works, that they cannot even be called "bodies" of divinity. Nothing is left but the bony structure. They cannot be dignified with any better name than "skeletons," and are dry at that. Dr. Woods is in earnest. He believes what he says. His belief is, if possible, too hard. His convictions are so strong, his belief is so deeply rooted, that he often is uncandid without knowing it. He does not seem to be aware, at times, that there is any ground for any other belief, or opportunity for any other conviction, but his own. Hence, in the midst of the greatest apparent endeavor to be candid, there is a very great lack of candor. We do not suppose that Dr. Woods intended to misrepresent the opinions of other Christians, or to insinuate that other theologians were hollow-hearted and impious; yet he has done both. His earnest conviction of the truth of his own system causes him to undervalue the evidence on which other systems rest, and the candor and piety of those who adopt them. There is no other ground on which it is supposable that such declarations could have been made. It may be well to illustrate this by some quotations. "Now I maintain," says Dr. Woods, "that the doctrines of the orthodox, as set forth in their creeds and systems, are substantially true, and that it has been this predominant element of truth which has been an offence to the unbelieving." *

* *Works*, Vol. I. p. 91.

He has just before said that the cause of the opposition made to Christianity is "in the depraved hearts of men." So he would have it understood that, if a man opposes "orthodoxy," it is not the fault of the system, but of the "depravity" of the opposer's heart. Hence Wesley and John Foster and Channing, to say nothing of any others, rejected Calvinism either because their whole souls were too depraved to see its truth and beauty, or because their hearts were too depraved to receive cordially the convictions of the intellect! Again: "Socinians themselves can be in no doubt, how any man, who has full confidence in Scripture, and really aims to be conformed to its teaching, will answer this question," viz. "Whether the existence of Christ began when he was born of Mary, or whether he preëxisted in a state vastly superior to manhood." * In plain English this means, that Socinians know well enough what the Scriptures teach of Christ's preëxistence, but will not tell the truth about it. They are hypocrites. This is not worthy of the author. "Unitarianism teaches," says Dr. Woods, "that Christ is man, and man only." † It is certain that he knew better than this. Once more: "Those who are clothed with humility, and have the spirit of prayer, and are heartily engaged to do the will of God, are seldom troubled with serious doubts respecting the Trinity." ‡ Those who deny the doctrine of the Trinity must then be very prayerless men, for they more than have "serious doubts" about it; they utterly reject it as a device of man. Watts, too, it seems, was deserting his closet when he offered up that world-renowned prayer of his, seeking light on the subject of the Divine existence. Such things as these are more than blots, they are deep stains in this work. They show how a good man may be self-deceived about his candor and fairness; and how sadly he may sin against the brethren, without suspecting that he is erring from God's service. This defect is too marked in these volumes to be passed by without more notice. We will give a few specimens of this remarkable feature of the work, and suggest a cause of their appearance in public in this offensive form. "They [Unitari-

* *Works*, Vol. I. p. 319.
† *Works*, Vol. I. p. 442.
‡ *Works*, Vol. I. p. 457.

ans] have never offered or attempted to offer any better proof than confident affirmation," that the "unity of the Godhead is conclusive evidence against the Godhead of Christ." (Vol. I. p. 254.) "You perceive that they who hold this scheme make no account whatever of those texts which give the highest representation of the glory of Christ." (p. 164.) He charges the Arians with holding that Christ had an "omniscient" spirit, and then shows that this theory is open to the same objections as the orthodox theory. (pp. 285, 286.) He charges them with believing that Christ had an "Almighty" spirit, and then shows that their inconsistencies are as glaring as those of Trinitarians. (pp. 287, 288, 290, 308.) It is very easy where we can manufacture our own facts to make the argument come out as we wish. It is very easy to make an opponent's opinions appear ridiculous, if we take the liberty to represent any views which are self-contradictory as being held by him. It does not require great talent to do that; but it does require the exercise of the *largest* liberty. There is but one way to account for this very strange misrepresentation of Unitarian opinions. It will not answer to say that Dr. Woods did not know better, for no man of any mind at all could have resided at Andover for "thirty-eight" years, and still be ignorant of the fact that Unitarians utterly deny the opinions which Dr. Woods charges them with holding; much less could a man of *his* ability and laborious diligence be so ignorant. It is to be remembered that these "Lectures" were delivered to men who were of one mind on this subject. Unitarians, if we understand it, are not allowed to go through the regular course at Andover. In correcting the sheets for the press, some of these strong rhetorical expressions, which were not designed to misrepresent, but simply to put in a very strong light, before the young prophets, the follies and depravities of Unitarians, escaped the eye of the venerable author. He had been so accustomed to reading them for some twenty years that their obnoxious character did not strike him, and not having allowed a Unitarian student to be in the lecture-room, he had not heard the statements called in question. Hence his mind had not been directed to them. We cannot account for such amazing misrepresentations in any other way. And we have been led to ask ourselves, If

such things, as far from the truth as the north pole is from the south, could be printed in a grave and elaborate treatise, what may not have been said in the privacy of the lecture-room? If these are only sparks which have accidentally escaped from the forge, what a consuming fire must have been burning inside! There is something about this which looks very bad, and shakes one's confidence in the integrity of the author; but this must by no means be permitted. We understand, then, that this very strange phenomenon is to be accounted for by supposing that the revising pen of the author did not erase certain forms of speech which had a *rhetorical* origin, but which had been repeated so frequently in the lecture-room that their obvious untruth as plain statements of fact was overlooked. We confess that there are difficulties in this theory; it leaves much unaccounted for, but it leaves Dr. Woods's good intentions unharmed, which is the most important point to be gained; for it is not to be supposed that he would deliberately state such things *as facts.* That supposition would indicate such ignorance of the opinions of men who were all around him, and whose works were in his hands, as cannot for a moment be admitted. Nor, on the other hand, can it be supposed for a moment, that he would thus repeatedly, clearly, and unhesitatingly misrepresent our opinions, designing to mislead the young men to whom he lectured, and the public for whose benefit they have been published. This would indicate a defect of principle, a want of moral integrity, unparalleled in the history of theological controversy.

Such instances of grave misrepresentation as are to be found in these "Lectures" deserve, and should receive, reprehension, from whatever source they have sprung. They are especially baneful when they are thrown into the springs whence issue the streams which water the earth. They poison the wells from which the churches are to draw water. Year after year classes of young preachers heard these palpable misstatements of our opinions. They heard them from a grave, pious, learned teacher. Why should they not believe him? Why should they not receive these grotesque and false representations of our opinions as a true statement of our doctrines, and thus go out into the world reiterating them, till haply they met a man in some society who told them

they had been misinformed? So indeed it was. Many a student from that school of the prophets has been amazed to find that the Unitarianism of the lecture-room and the Unitarianism of our churches are very different things; and that the arguments which were conclusive against the hypothetical Unitarianism of the lecture-room, are of no value when brought to bear upon the real opinions which we do hold. Justice to students, as well as justice to truth, demands of theological teachers that they should be scrupulously accurate and unrhetorical when they undertake to state to their pupils the opinions of others. A tender conscientiousness should be nourished. The custom of disregarding truth when speaking of heretics should be discarded by Protestants. Unmixed mischief results from tampering with truth under such circumstances. Denominations do each other grievous wrong, and the cause of Christ is wounded in the house of his friends, by the carelessness or recklessness of those who ought to be cautious and considerate. We are sorry to see the work before us disfigured by such grave defects. They are unworthy both the work and the author. They will spread still wider the tares which were sown in the successive classes at Andover. But they will be rooted up in time. The public will soon be informed of them. The eyes of the people will soon be opened, and then all the hay and stubble of misrepresentation and sophistry will be consumed.

But it is time that we should give our readers some further and more particular idea of the contents of this elaborate work. We have already said that "the author has judged it best, in this publication, instead of attempting to make out a particular discussion of every branch of theology, to attend chiefly to those subjects which he considered as of the highest importance, especially at the present day." What are those subjects which the "present day" renders "of the highest importance"? Most evidently one of them is the doctrine of the "Trinity," whose discussion covers over two hundred of these large octavo pages. A discussion of the "Divine Purposes" covers one hundred pages. "Moral Agency" is evidently a favorite subject of our author. To a discussion of this topic about one hundred and fifty pages are devoted. One hundred and eighty-seven pages are devoted

to the doctrine of "Man's Depravity"; evidently a subject most thoroughly matured by the writer. The "Atonement" is discussed through one hundred and fifty pages. About ninety pages are devoted to the doctrine of "Regeneration," and about one hundred and sixty pages to "Infant Baptism." The subject of "Inspiration" is discussed at length, but only by a reprint of a small volume published some years since. Other subjects are treated, but less elaborately, and in a more brief and superficial manner, if we except the subject of "Church Government," which occupies about one hundred pages. Dr. Woods evidently discusses with pleasure these subjects, which he judges of the "highest importance." He enjoys his work. He loves to take the objector's arguments on the point of his spear and toss them to the winds. We think he has given his chief labor to the doctrines of the "Trinity," "Moral Agency," "Man's Depravity," "Atonement," and the "Divine Purposes." That there was considerable difference of opinion growing up in the orthodox ranks on these five subjects we very well knew; but we were not aware that the "fathers" were so alarmed at the progress made towards heresy as is indicated by this selection and elaborate discussion of topics, demanded at "the present day." It is possible that the rhetorical statements before alluded to, made in the lecture-room, were found by the pupils, after graduation, to be incorrect, and hence that all the elaborate argument and subtle distinctions growing out of them were incorrect also. Hence the misled mind sought after truth, and was amazed to find it so different from what it had apprehended it to be before; so wonderfully like the teachings of the Bible and the wants of the human soul. At any rate, there was coming to be a very serious declension from the old landmark. The "highways were forsaken," as in the days of Deborah, and the young prophets began to wander in "crooked and winding by-paths." How much these published "Lectures" will do towards checking this uncanonical way of travelling we are not able to say. But we judge that some will be alarmed and take to the beaten road; others will go on, having learned by experience that the cry of "Lion in the way!" has been raised when there was no lion there. This, at least, is true; if these "Works" do not bring them back, noth-

ing will. There is no argument which human ingenuity, after fifty years' culture by the accumulated learning of all time, can invent in support of the author's system, which is not presented. There is not an objection which can be brought that is not answered with an acuteness made sharp by fifty years of constant whetting in the mill of logic, with a wariness, not to say cunning, which is matured into an instinct by fifty years of desperate battle with the combined forces of error and sin. Nor is this all. When argument is exhausted, when no syllogism can bridge the abyss between the premise and the conclusion, when no rhetorical illustration can vault over it, then the sympathies are enlisted, the pious feelings are appealed to, the cause of the Church is made a motive, the salvation of sinners is urged, the interests of the "Redeemer's kingdom" are made prominent,— a series of interrogations and exclamations follows an army of enthymemes and syllogisms, as a sort of reserve to bring into battle, if the regular troops do not conquer, or are put *hors de combat*, so that if the intellect is not convinced, the heart is moved in the right direction. If reason is not satisfied, the sympathies are enlisted and the fears aroused. Earth, hell, and heaven are introduced into the "reserve," and by them the victory is not seldom gained, or thought to be gained. Some will, doubtless, be won or driven back to the "old paths." But some will go on. Enough will go on to show that the way is safe, that the lions, if there are any, are chained. The publication of the "Works," then, will not be in vain. They will make an eddy in the current, but they will not change the course of the stream. It will still sweep on irresistibly to the sea, carrying with it all the temporary obstructions which man had hoped would stay its course, depositing them in the bottom of the ocean, to serve as curiosities in the cabinet of some future theological paleontologist who is collecting rare specimens of remains from among the *débris* of former ages.

Dr. Woods's works will, however, survive as long as his highest ambition can desire. They are written in such a clear and readable manner, that students will recur to them to learn what were the most cogent arguments adduced in favor of systems then long dead. The doctrines of Calvinism will be preserved in these volumes

like dead flies in amber, and he who in after ages wishes to know what they were will find no medium more transparent and inviting through which to view them, than these volumes. Every word which would render the doctrines obnoxious is most carefully avoided. Every rough corner is smoothed down. Every hard opinion is expressed in the softest words and most gentle expressions. The doctrines of "Unconditional Election and Reprobation" assume the very inoffensive name of "Divine Purposes," and "Total Depravity" becomes "Man's Depravity." One expects from the gentle names used, and smooth expressions uttered, that the stern Genevan has been spoiled of his riches; but it is not so. The thing remains. The genuine article is there, though surrounded with rosemary. We admire the care (shall we say *artfulness?* for it looks amazingly like that in some places) with which Dr. Woods has endeavored to remove every offensive feature from the system by rejecting its terminology wherever he can, and substituting attractive expressions. This is especially evident when he undertakes to reconcile the mind to an acceptance of the doctrine of utter helplessness on the part of man to do any thing towards his salvation, while the Scriptures so distinctly and emphatically and repeatedly command him and entreat him to do something, and charge him with the greatest wickedness for not doing it, and threaten him with woe unutterable in another life if he does not do something, — if he does not repent and turn unto the Lord Jesus Christ. Such a course reveals clearly enough to the reader, that the writer was aware of the conflict which existed between his views and the consciousness and common sense of mankind, and his desire either to hide it from our notice or to render it less appalling and repulsive. Another marked feature in conducting the discussion of the doctrines which we have named is the keen, but narrow, view that is taken of them. If we may so speak, there is great space-penetrating power in the mind of the writer, but the field of vision is small, very small. He discovers the slightest atom of star dust on the outer borders of the system, but he does not take into his view the broad expanse and solar emblazonry of the overarching heavens. Or, to change our illustration from an astronomical to a rhetorical one, he can

"chase
A panting syllable through space,"

but utterly fails to take in the lofty thought, the harmonious rhythm, the majestic flow of image, symbol, illustration, which compose the grand epic. He detects instantly a flaw in a syllogism, without being aware that a long course of cumulative argument is not like a bell, which is spoiled when any part of it is cracked.

Though he does not usually hesitate to carry out his views to their legitimate results, he sometimes would prefer most evidently to say nothing about them. This is particularly apparent in discussing the doctrine of Election. He does not wish to bring into relief what Calvin called the "horrible decree" of reprobation. Dr. Woods has a tender heart. He shrinks from the idea that God, who loves his children more tenderly than he loved his own offspring, should foredoom, without any reference to evil works done by them, or any thing in them moving him thereunto, a large portion of his children to the pains of hell for ever, simply to magnify his "glorious justice"! He walks carefully, therefore, on that part of the subject, as if among hot ploughshares. "How often have I been troubled with the thought," says he, "that the doctrine of Election has a gloomy and painful bearing on the non-elect; that, while it secures everlasting blessedness to God's chosen people, it seals the everlasting misery of the rest! Thus, to my disquieted mind, the doctrine has often been invested with deformity and horror." This man has a heart. He has sometimes felt the "deformity and horror" of the doctrine. We are thankful for that; it is a good omen. It shows that men are very much better than their opinions oftentimes. Perhaps it is well that the heart should be softer than the head. "This uncomfortable view of the subject," he continues, "I have met in the following way. I have considered the whole human race *as they are*, all sinners, deserving to suffer the penalty of God's law. But God, in his rich mercy, chooses some to salvation. Does this injure the rest? Does it in any way hinder their salvation? Does it bring upon them undeserved misery? . . . . . As the non-elect never suffer more than what is their due, they can have no ground of complaint. But this is not saying all. For upon those who are not saved

. . . . . God bestows unnumbered favors; calls them to repentance, and offers them salvation just as he does to the elect; and often exercises great long-suffering towards them, — making it manifest, that he is rich in mercy, and that if they perish it will be wholly their own fault." * This would all be very well if Dr. Woods had not taken special pains to show *afterwards*, that men are so brought into the world by their Maker, without any act or intention of their own, that they *cannot*, from the very constitution of their nature, over which they had, and could have, no more control than over the features and complexion of their faces, think a good thought, or cherish a good desire, or even wish to be made better.† It would have been well if this last doctrine of entire inability had been put *before* the other. The utter invalidity of the reasoning of Dr. Woods, by which he had endeavored to meet this "uncomfortable view," the "deformity and horror" of which, it seems, "disquieted" his humane feelings, would then have been seen at a glance. "Wholly their own fault, if they perish"? As well say that it was a man's own fault that he broke his neck, when you had pitched him headlong from a precipice! "Wholly their own fault, if they perish"? Just as much will it be Dr. Woods's own fault, and brand him as a suicide, if he ever dies! The non-elect can no more avoid falling into perdition than he can avoid falling into the grave. And common sense would no more spurn the folly or despise the hypocrisy of urging him to avoid the one, than of exhorting them to escape the other. A "disquieted mind" cannot be pacified in this way. The bed is not long enough for the uneasy body to stretch itself on it. And

> "'T is but a poor relief we gain,
> To change the place, but keep the pain."

While we are stirring oil and water, they seem to be mixed; but when we let them rest, they are just as separate as ever. So with these palpable contradictions of Calvinism. While the elements are in motion, we do not see their incongruity; the instant they are still, the strange mixture of ingredients shows itself. Calvinism, as a metaphysical system, as dealing with ideas, abstrac-

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* *Works*, Vol. I. p. 540. † *Works*, Vol. II. pp. 554, 558, 559.

tions, is a wonderfully harmonious and consistent system. But it so happens that man and life are facts; hence, when the system is applied to man and life, it falls far more short of answering his purpose in life's work than Saul's armor did of answering David's in the battle with the Philistine. And for ourselves, we had much rather trust to our shepherd-boy's sling and smooth stones, than to the jointed, polished, grooved armor of the great Genevan. The difficulty with Calvinism is, that it contradicts the facts, we will not now say of human reason, but of human consciousness. It is also "deformed and horrible." If it is said that this "deformity and horribleness" are owing to the stubbornness of the unregenerate heart, we reply that the saint at Geneva and the better saint still at Andover were "disquieted" about it as we are, and felt "uncomfortable" in view of it. If it is said that the consciousness of man is not to be trusted, then we reply, there is no assurance of the truth of your views any more than of ours, for how do you know that you reason correctly, or are even reasoning at all, unless you are conscious of it? Question the reliableness of consciousness, and you have questioned your correctness in questioning it; you have put out upon the shoreless, bottomless ocean of scepticism. You can no longer believe, or argue, or doubt, if you are consistent.

But we are running a little before our intention. We wish to look at the *method of reasoning* adopted by Dr. Woods in these "Lectures," especially upon some of the doctrines which we have named above. It would be utterly impossible to examine the whole five volumes, or even one doctrine, as here discussed, in a single article of this Review. We propose, therefore, in what space remains to us, to examine briefly, as our limits compel us, yet intelligibly as we hope, some of the *methods of reasoning* of which the venerable author avails himself in his argument.

The first doctrine which we named as having demanded attention from the author, "especially at the present day," is the Trinity. Unless we mistake, it will require all these two hundred pages of close argument and sharp criticism to bring back those of the sons of the "fathers," for whose benefit "especially" they are printed, in preference to other subjects which the times did not

so urgently demand. Quite an alarming number of the Evangelical body had begun to ask themselves reverently, yet earnestly, what they meant when they spoke of the Trinity, and what they believed when they said they believed the docrine of the Trinity. Certainly this was a very natural and praiseworthy inquiry for men of sense to make. It was very soon found, that many had used the word without any meaning, that others had deceived themselves by supposing they had attached a meaning to it when they had not, and that there were still others who learned that their explanation of the term was not orthodox, or at least some said one thing and some another, and the most part did not seem to know what to say. The word "person" was defined in all manner of ways, to mean all manner of things, or to mean nothing. The doctrine of the Trinity was now said to be this, now that. Half of a Consociation declared this to be orthodox; the other half declared it, with equal positiveness and more warmth, to be heresy. One Evangelical quarterly declared that the view entertained by one of the "fathers" is the "essential element of *Tritheism*." The writer further says, — "The moment we conceive of the Deity as consisting of three distinct individuals, each possessing consciousness [please mark these terms], affections, will, of his own, we contradict and virtually abandon the true Scriptural simple idea of *one God*. Whatever guard we may throw about our language, we do, in fact, from that moment, believe not in *one* God, but in *three*." This is bold. But the writer waxes bolder and says, that "it is to be conceded" that writers who maintain such views "are in reality not so much Trinitarians as Tritheists. For what *can* constitute *three* Gods, if three Divine existences, each possessing strict and proper individuality, three Divine minds, each acting, feeling, willing, of itself, are not? . . . . . Not a few have been led to reject the Divinity of Christ and the doctrine of the Trinity *in toto*, as the only way of avoiding the really irreconcilable contradictions involved in the method of statement now under consideration, and this state of things must continue as long as they who hold the doctrine allow themselves to use terms in this loose and incorrect manner; applying to the distinctions in the Divine nature the term *person* in nearly or quite

the *ordinary* sense of the word; speaking and thinking of the Father, Son, and Spirit, as if they were three distinct beings, who together constitute the Deity, who consult together and enjoy each other's society and converse; thus virtually abandoning the doctrine of the simple undivided unity of the Godhead." * Another quarterly declares that "three entirely distinct intellects, sensibilities, and wills . . . . . would constitute three separate, independent minds, or (which is the same) three Gods." †

Books were published, pamphlets began to swarm, the weeklies began to teem with articles long and short, sharp and stupid, intelligible and unintelligible; and no entreaty to keep silence and believe, no offer to receive "for substance of doctrine," no tearful imploration of the bewildered churches, could stop the investigation. A taste of freedom had been obtained, and nothing would satisfy the famished souls but a feast. We had been quiet. Nothing had been written by us on the subject for many years. We were confident that our Trinitarian friends, if they should ever have courage enough to look at the doctrine, would arrange the matter better than we could do it. And they have done and are doing so. In the midst of this controversy among themselves, of which we have been not uninterested, though inactive, spectators, this elaborate discussion of Dr. Woods appears. We are certain that it will not satisfy inquiry or silence objection. The discussion will go on till some intelligible and not self-contradictory view is offered for acceptance. The difficulty in the minds of the dissatisfied portion of the Trinitarians is with the tripersonality of the Deity. They see, and see correctly, that if there are three persons in the usual acceptation of that term, there are three Gods; and that no shuffling of words, or twisting of sentences, or conglomeration of texts, can prevent such a conclusion. It follows as inevitably as daylight follows sunrise, that there must be some new definition given of the word "person" which will save the unity of the Godhead; and the one which is becoming most popular is "manifestation." So that tri-modalism and not tri-

* *New-Englander*, Vol. VIII. pp. 21, 17, 18.
† *Bibliotheca Sacra*, Vol. VII. p. 215.

personality is to constitute the Trinity. God "manifests" himself as Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. These are names of "manifestations," not of "persons"; thus the difficulty is avoided, and the unity of person in the Godhead is retained. But this is a great error, an alarming heresy, among the Evangelical thinkers of the "present day." Does Dr. Woods remove this difficulty and satisfy these minds? Let us see. Having shown that any other view of the word "person" as applied to Christ is inapplicable, as he thinks, he goes on to say,—

"If the New Testament does not teach that Christ . . . . . is, properly speaking, a *person*, it does not teach the personality of Paul or Peter, and the history of our own country does not teach that either Washington or Hamilton was a *person*. . . . . And we have equally satisfactory evidence, that he is a *person distinct* from the Father. . . . . If we had nothing but the bare mention of the Father and the Son, we should conclude that, in respect to personality, they were distinct from each other, — *two persons*. . . . . The Apostles, in numberless instances, represent the Father and the Son to be distinct persons, — as really distinct from each other as any two men are; but they never speak of them as though they constituted one person. Even when Jesus declares that he and his Father are *one*, he does it in a direct address to the Father in the use of the personal pronouns *I* and *thou*, and the plural *we*, showing that the oneness intended is a oneness existing between two distinct persons. . . . . What I maintain is, that the Scriptures represent the Father and the Son to be two distinct persons as plainly and as fully as they represent Jacob and Joseph to be two distinct persons. . . . . All that can be considered as essential attributes of a person, or as going to constitute personality, are shown by the Scriptures to belong to the Father and to the Son. . . . . The Father is a person, that is, an intelligent, moral, voluntary, individual being. . . . . And is not the Son equally possessed of what is essential to personality? Is he not intelligent? Is he not moral? Is he not voluntary? Has he not a will distinct from the will of the Father? Does he not say, 'Not *my* will, but *thine*, be done'? . . . . . Whither has our understanding and our common sense fled, if, while we find from the Scriptures, that Jesus, the Son of God, is all that I have now mentioned, we can yet deny or doubt his personality? . . . . . If you will sit down to the perusal of the New Testament with a mind unshackled by any human invention, ... you will be so far from denying this personality, because it is, in some respects, so immensely different from

mere human personality, that you will, for that very reason, hold it to be, if possible, *more real.*" — *Works*, Vol. I. pp. 428 – 430.

This is all intelligible. It is clear enough in all conscience. There are three persons in the Godhead as distinct from each other as any three men can be; nay, if it be possible, more really distinct. But how can this be reconciled with the doctrine of one God, of the Divine unity? Why, answers Dr. Woods, these three wills, intellects, moral agents, individual beings, all inhere in one substance, — one nature. The essence of the Divine Being as naturally, so to speak, has three wills, three intellects, three moral agents, three individuals, as the human nature or human essence has one will, one intellect, one consciousness. In a word, the attributes are distinct, but inhere in one substance.

"Human persons are not only *distinct*, but separate individuals, possessed indeed of a nature, both corporeal and mental, of the same kind, though the individual nature of each is his own *solely*, not common to himself and to others. The intelligent nature, the mind of Paul, was *his* and his *only*. The same mind, the same spiritual essence, which belonged to him did not, and could not, belong to any other person. In other words, there are no two human persons who so possess the very same individual human nature, that, strictly speaking, the nature of one of them is the identical nature of the other. . . . . But it may be, and undoubtedly is, very different with respect to the Divine nature. The Godhead may be such . . . . . that three persons . . . . . may be, and are, partakers of it, — partakers of one and the same Divine nature and yet are *three distinct persons*. I should not be ready to say that the three persons are *separate* or *divided*." — *Works*, Vol. I. p. 431.

Why not? we are ready to ask. The *nature*, the *substance*, the *essence*, in which they inhere, cannot be divided, but the *persons* are distinct, as Dr. Woods has declared half a dozen times in the space of two pages. The willing of the one is not the willing of the other; their wills are as *distinct* as those of Paul and Peter, yet "their personal relation, their union, and their mutual intercourse exceed in perfection and blessedness all personal relations among created, dependent beings."* This is the form of the Trinity most offensive to the dissatis-

* *Works*, Vol. I. p. 431.

fied portions of the orthodox. It opens before them a "lower deep" into which they must plunge. We are sure they will not do it. They will ask, how one person could send another without going himself, when he was of the same substance that was to go; how the second person could be incarnated unless the first and third were incarnated also; how the Holy Spirit could be poured out upon the disciples, and the other two persons not be poured out also; how attributes can make persons when there is no independent essence belonging to them, any more than thoughts can make a mind when there is no spiritual essence from which they originate; how at the same identical instant three different intellects can act in the same identical substance; how three separate, distinct volitions, as separate, as distinct, as Paul's and Peter's, can be put forth at the same moment by the one indivisible substance in which they are originated! Ossa swells over Pelion, difficulty mounts upon difficulty, perplexity involves perplexity, mystery envelopes mystery, contradiction stares at contradiction, confusion succeeds confusion, till the brain becomes dizzy and the head reels. The men who have taken this subject in hand are not to be satisfied with such absurdity. They will examine the process which has led to such a conclusion, and will find the fallacy which has attained to results which so confound reason and spurn common sense. This fallacy, they will pardon us for telling them, consists in overlooking a very simple rule of interpretation, viz. "What one does by another he is said to do himself." Dr. Woods takes all the passages which speak of Christ in their literal sense, without regard to the qualifications which the above rule would give them. "Miracles can be wrought only by God; Christ wrought miracles, therefore Christ is God." Such is the fashion of the whole argument. Now, Christ declares that God *gave* him power to do these works, and the Apostles say that "God wrought them by him" as his instrument. The argument, therefore, falls to the ground. So of the argument derived from the name "God." It is applied to others besides the Supreme Being, and therefore the use of that name alone does not prove the Deity of the being to whom it is applied. So with the argument derived from the word "worship." It is applied to all classes of intelli-

gent beings, and the nature of the worship is decided by the previously known rank of the being worshipped, and not, as Dr. Woods assumes, the Godhead of the being proved because he is said to be worshipped. Christ is shown to be omnipresent because he promises to be with his disciples whenever they meet to worship. As if it followed as a logical consequence, that a being who could be virtually or really present to every inch of the surface of our little planet must be present everywhere in the illimitable dominions of Jehovah! Christ is shown to be eternal because he existed before the world was. So did the angels. Are they eternal? He is shown to be omniscient because he knows what is in the hearts of men. Then it follows that what men have in their hearts is all that there is to know! that a census of human beings numbers the universe, — an inventory of human attainments is the sum of knowledge, of what is knowable! But we will pause. We are treading on dangerous ground. Our reverence will not permit us to say more, our subject would not permit us to say less. It is not our design to attempt a confutation of the doctrine of the Trinity as maintained by Dr. Woods. We wished only to inform our readers of its character, and signify to them that it will not silence the inquiring voices which are everywhere raised respecting this subject.

The doctrine of "Moral Agency" is another of the subjects which has received the best thoughts and most careful attention of Dr. Woods. It is evident from the elaborateness of the discussion, that it has been most cautiously and perseveringly labored upon. Its consideration occupies thirteen lectures, and fills one hundred and fifty pages. Dr. Humphrey, no mean judge, says, "We regard these lectures as the ablest in the whole system, and as embodying a lucid and masterly discussion of some of the most abstruse points in theological science. . . . . In logical arrangement, in clearness of statement, in exactness of definition, in transparency of argument, in fulness and felicity of illustration, and in unanswerable appeals to human consciousness, we have never read any treatise on Moral Agency which seems to us more worthy of the theological chair in any 'school of the prophets,' or more worthy of being studied by all who

desire to obtain correct views of the nature, grounds, and extent of their moral responsibility." *

In a certain sense, we would not dissent from the eulogium of Dr. Humphrey. There is sound argument, great wisdom, in the method of approaching the subject, great skill in warding off objections, great wariness in escaping them, and sometimes great cunning in ignoring them. With very much that is said in these twelve lectures we should agree most heartily. But with the conclusion we can by no means agree. There is a radical defect in the argument which vitiates the result at which Dr. Woods supposes he has arrived; namely, that man is accountable for his conduct when he can act no otherwise than as he does act. He ought to have carried his doctrine of Moral Necessity out to its legitimate conclusions, as Priestley and Belsham did. He ought to have said, that there is no such thing as guilt; that remorse is a deception and a weakness. Then he would have been consistent. "Reproach others for nothing, and repent of nothing," exclaims Diderot, in view of the doctrine of Necessity. "Remorse," says Belsham, "is the exquisitely painful feeling which arises from the belief, that, in circumstances precisely the same, we might have chosen and acted differently. This *fallacious* feeling is superseded by the doctrine of Necessity." No doubt it is, or should be, if the doctrine is true. Again he says, "The doctrine of philosophical necessity supersedes *remorse*." He further says, that "*remorse* supposes free will, and arises from a forgetfulness of the precise state of mind when the action was performed." † Hartley says, "Since all they [men] do against us is by the appointment of God, it is rebellion against him to be offended with them"; ‡ i. e. there is no blame to be attached to them; crime does not deserve punishment. Indeed, there is no crime according to this system when fairly carried out. Priestley says, "With such sublime views of the system [of Necessity], ... vice is absolutely incompatible; and more especially *hatred*, *envy*, and *malice* are wholly excluded. I cannot, as a Necessarian, hate any man, because I consider him

* *Bibliotheca Sacra*, Jan., 1851, pp. 30, 31.
† *Elements of the Philosophy of the Mind*, pp. 284, 307, 316.
‡ *Observations on Man*, P. I.

as *being*, in all respects, just what God has made him to be, and also as *doing*, with respect to me, nothing but what he was expressly designed and appointed to do; God being the only cause, and men nothing more than instruments to do his pleasure. . . . . I cease to *blame* men for their vices." * This, we say, is consistent. But Dr. Woods undertakes to do what no human ingenuity can do, reconcile necessity and accountability. Indeed, such a labor in morals is just as hopeless as is the production of perpetual motion in mechanics. Freedom is essential to accountableness. It enters into the very idea of it. To say, therefore, that a necessary being, or one acting under necessity, is accountable, is a flat contradiction; as much so as to say that darkness is light, or the medium of vision. It does not relieve the difficulty at all to say, as Dr. Woods does, that we are conscious of guilt, and therefore they are reconcilable; for the very fact of consciousness of guilt proves that we are not acting under necessity, but freely. So far, therefore, is that fact, on which he places so much stress, from substantiating his view, that it entirely overthrows the edifice which he has been constructing through one hundred pages upon that foundation.

But Dr. Woods replies, "I have proved that man is a necessary agent, because I have shown that motives are the cause of action, and that man must act as the motive compels him." Be it so. Then it is not man that acts, but the motive acts, or is the cause of the action; just as the wheel does not turn itself, but the water turns it. So man is not blameworthy for evil, or praiseworthy for good actions, any more than the wheel. "Indeed he is," replies Dr. Woods, "for he knows he is blameworthy, he is conscious of it. Every man will testify to this fact, and all attempts to avoid it by argument are worse than useless; the facts of consciousness are against you all the world over; and more than that, we all feel that it is just to blame a man for what he has done that is wrong." So we do; and that shows most conclusively that he is free. Indeed human consciousness, from pole to pole, from the east to the west, witnesses to human freedom; and if consciousness is such a reliable witness

* *Philosophical Necessity*, pp. 123, 124.

to show that we are accountable, it is equally reliable to show that we are free. If Dr. Woods will appeal to it to show that men are blameworthy, we must admit that the appeal is valid to show that we are free. And this is the end of the whole matter. As far as Dr. Woods is concerned, there is nothing more to be said. But should Belsham be met, who denied the validity of consciousness to testify to our blameworthiness, we should be obliged to take other ground. It would be this. You say that consciousness is liable to deceive us, that it is not a reliable witness to our mental condition, and therefore we have no proof that we are free, because we think we are, because we are conscious we are. Grant it, and what follows? Simply, that you have no evidence that your argument for necessity is sound, for you have been compelled to rely upon the testimony of this same lying consciousness for the validity of every step in it. And if your chain of reasoning has ten links in it, consciousness will have had an opportunity to deceive you ten times, whereas if there is but one act, one link in your chain, as in the case of freedom, you are ten times as likely to be correct. In a word, there is no middle ground, logically, between freedom and scepticism. Consciousness is a reliable witness to the states of our own minds, or it is not. If it is a reliable witness, then men are free and the doctrine of necessity is false. If it is not a reliable witness, then hopeless scepticism is our only portion. There is no other possible alternative.

We might leave this subject here. But we wish to make a remark or two on the *argument* for necessity, as it is usually conducted, as it is conducted by Dr. Woods, for indeed there is but one way in which to conduct it. The first remark we wish to make is, that a mistake is made in the premises. It is assumed that motives are the *causes* of actions, instead of the *occasions* of actions. This mistake vitiates all the reasoning which is founded upon it, and as it is the foundation stone of the whole structure, when that falls all the rest falls with it. Motives may be called the occasional causes of actions, but the human being, the self, is the *efficient* cause, the real cause. Though a man cannot act without a motive, the motive is by no means the cause of the action; that originates in the living being. The block of marble is not

the cause of hewing it. The chisel of the sculptor is directed by his eye and muscles, and all by his living power. True, the artist could not have carved his almost breathing image unless he had had the marble, but it would be folly to say that the marble was the efficient cause of the hewing. Motives are essential to all rational actions, as eyes are essential to sight, but the eyes are no more really the cause of seeing than motives are of action; that is, they are not *cause* at all.

The second remark which we would make is, that no distinction is made, when the cause of action is referred to, between mind and matter. Mind *originates* action, matter does not; and as matter does not originate action, but is moved by outward forces, so it is thought that mind does not originate action, but is acted upon, propelled by motives, as an engine is propelled by steam. Consciousness teaches the contrary most clearly. We *know* we can originate action. We are conscious of possessing this power, as we are of possessing the faculty of comparison or memory. It is not necessary that there should be an *efficient* cause without to act upon the mind and propel it to motion. There is only need of an *occasion* and then it will act, if it is disposed to do so. If there is no *occasion* it cannot act, how much soever it may be disposed to do so. The artist may desire, may long, to embody his ideal beauty in the marble, but as he has no tools he cannot grave his image there. The mind is a *living* thing. The laws of its action are not the laws which govern matter. And all attempt to apply the laws of matter to explain mental phenomena will end in a flat contradiction of our consciousness, as the doctrine of necessity does.

One more remark. Liberty is defined by necessarians as *freedom to do what we will to do.* There is no freedom of willing, but only of doing what we will, on their system. We are free to do whatever a third party over which we have no control tells us to do. This is the freedom of a slave. He is free to do what his master tells him to do. A wheel is free to turn the way the water drives it. A ship obeys the helm, and goes whithersoever the governor listeth, freely. This is not human liberty. Consciousness here comes in and confronts and confounds all reasoning. Man *knows* that he has the

power of willing. He *knows* he is the cause of his volitions. Indeed, what is the action but a volition? Willing is action. To say, therefore, that we are free to do what we will to do, is only saying, if we understand ourselves and speak correctly, that we *will* freely, for willing is acting. I may determine to raise my arm the next hour, but when I *will* to raise my arm, it rises. There is no intervening action, no intermediate state of mind. Willing is the living being in activity, and directing his actions in a given, chosen way. And this way we choose freely. We *know* we do. No human being ever yet performed an action, for which, in a sane state of mind, he felt blameworthy or praiseworthy, in the performance of which he did not feel conscious of a capacity to act differently. Reason as men may, here is a fundamental fact of human consciousness which cannot be ignored or explained on the necessarian plan. On these facts of our consciousness we take our stand. On the experience of every son and daughter of Adam we plant our foot. It is as unreasonable to attempt to build up a system of human agency without taking them into the account, as to rear a system of astronomy without regard to the existence of the sun. Like the baseless fabric of a vision, it will perish, and "leave not a rack behind."

In reading this portion of the "Lectures," we have been surprised to observe how great an amount of strength is spent on the most subtile reasoning by one who so vehemently opposes the use and decisions of reason in those whose views differ from his own. Here are solid octavo pages of reasoning, as subtile as any of Hume's, in support of a system as utterly at variance with Scripture as with the facts of consciousness; and yet we are told, when we come to the end of the complicated chain of assumption, inference, implication, argument, and find it flatly opposed to Scripture and conscience, that we should "ever guard with sacred care against the folly and sin of pretending, or even of aspiring, to know what lies so far beyond the grasp of our feeble understanding." (!) One would be disposed to laugh at the sage advice here given, were it not that the very gravity and *naïveté* with which it is given fills him with indignation, that the author, having drained the last drop of strength from the understanding and melted down the

crucible of logic in his endeavor to sustain a system which contradicts the primary facts of our nature, warns us against the "sin" (?) of using the same instruments to confute him. We fear no such sin. The ark which he has erected is not the Lord's, and we shall not be prevented from laying our hands upon it through fear of the descending fire. What reason has built, reason will examine, and that freely.

Out of this doctrine of "Moral Agency," as Dr. Woods calls it, of necessity, as we call it, he brings the doctrine of "human inability." We should enjoy the labor of laying these two lectures before our readers in an abridged form, with some comments upon them. But our limits will not permit a particular discussion of the passages quoted to prove that the doctrine is consistent with Scripture. The passages are those which are usually adduced under such circumstances. Twice in the discussion he asserts that the Scriptures "repeatedly declare that sinners cannot obey, and never intimate the contrary."* "The Scriptures often declare, that we *are unable*, but never that we *are able*," † to obey God. Now we assert the opposite. We aver that from the creation to this hour the Scripture has said and does say to men, You are able to obey God. Every call to repentance, every rebuke for sin, every offer of pardon, every invitation to return, is an argument and a fact directly against the statements which we have quoted. "The Apostle Paul," says Dr. Woods, "declares that they who are in the flesh *cannot* please God." So he does. No sinner can please God. But he *can* repent of his sins; he *can turn* from them unto the Lord Jesus Christ; he *can arise* and go to his Father; he *can cease* to do evil and learn to do well. Thus he can please God. But the "carnal mind is enmity against God." So it is. But man *can* "*become* spiritually-minded, which is life and peace." He can subdue the lusts of the flesh and keep the body under. But "do the sacred writers assert that sinners, without the influence of the Spirit, can believe and obey the Gospel, — that they are as able to do this as they are to rise up and walk, — do they assert this, or any thing

* *Works*, Vol. II. p. 177. † *Works*, Vol. II. p. 193.

like this?"* That is just what they assert. Man can no more rise up and walk without God's aid, than he can believe and reason, and obey, without God's aid. It is in him that we "live and move and have our being." "It is not in man that walketh to direct his steps." But yet again: Since man is entirely depraved, since every emotion, desire, purpose, is sinful, he cannot think a good thought, cherish a good emotion, feel a good desire, or form a good purpose; hence all his volitions must be sinful; "and it is very manifest that the unholy volition of an unregenerate sinner can do nothing towards exciting holy love in his heart."† Just as much as the perfectly good desires, purposes, and affections of Adam could originate a "holy volition," which could be productive of sin, we reply. But we do not prefer here to take that ground. We take another position. If man's nature is what Dr. Woods here asserts it is (he does not attempt to prove that it is, till further on), then, we reply, he is not required to do any thing of the kind. He would wrong his nature, and sin, if he ever wished to do any thing but sin. And so far is such a being from being "inexcusably guilty" for not willing holy actions, that he could not commit a more flagrant offence against both God and his own soul. We have good authority from very near that "lecture-room" for such an opinion. "Every being perfectly obeys the laws of God who fully and perfectly obeys all the laws of its nature enstamped upon it. It would be as real obedience for a being created evil to do evil, as it would be for the nightshade or the hemlock to yield its deadly juice."‡ True; every word true. And, the writer continues, "Reparation, punishment, for obedience of this kind, seems plainly to be without the pale of justice." Truer still, if possible. Whether these statements belong to "some free remarks, made, perhaps [!], inadvertently,"§ which Dr. Woods refers to, we are not able to decide. That they are "remarks" is certain; that they are "free" is equally certain; but that they were made "inadvertently" is by no means certain or probable.

Such is Dr. Woods's view of "Moral Agency" and

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* *Works*, Vol. II. p. 179.
† *Works*, Vol. II. p. 197.
‡ *Bibliotheca Sacra*, Vol. I. p. 147.
§ *Works*, Vol. II. p. 328.

"human inability." It is acute, attenuated, elaborate. It is evidently the pet subject of the writer. In other forms it is repeated twice in the remainder of the Works. But it contradicts the fundamental facts of our nature in its conclusions, and the fundamental laws of reason in its premises. Its roots are in ashes; why should not the apples of Sodom ever be its fruit?

Next in order among the doctrines which the "present day especially required to have considered," is that of "Man's Depravity." After reading the one hundred and eighty-seven pages devoted to it in the "Lectures," it struck us as a work of supererogation and needless expense to introduce one hundred and thirty-five pages more on the same subject in the "Letters to Unitarians." If the first argument is conclusive, the last is needless. If it is not, then it should have been omitted. This double portion, it appears to us, is superfluous. For we are ready to admit that nothing more can be said in favor of the doctrine of total, inherent, original depravity than he has said. Nor can any thing better be said, or said in better form and order for his purpose. Consummate skill is manifested in the management of the whole argument. Wellington and Napoleon did not exhibit more in the battle of Waterloo. But no man can achieve impossibilities. Dr. Woods need not feel as if he had not done all that can be done because we are not convinced. He has jumped as far towards the sun as any one can, but he has not touched it.

The argument in the "Lectures" is nothing more than the expansion of the argument in his "Letters to Unitarians." There are some of those offensive expressions scattered through it which do not appear in the "Letters." There was the fear of an opponent before the writer of the "Letters," but the writer of the "Lectures" had no such fear before his eyes. They would have been freed from these blemishes, had it been so. Dr. Humphrey says of these Letters, — "Proud as Unitarians are of their champions, we opine that they would not be overanxious to put any one of them in a fair field against such a 'foeman' as Dr. Woods has proved himself to be in these Letters."* Perhaps not. We are not a pug-

* *Bibliotheca Sacra*, Jan., 1851, p. 33.

nacious people, and are usually disposed to keep quiet if we are let alone, and to bear patiently, for a time at least, if we are assailed. But there was a meek man, if not a champion, who entered the lists with Goliath, and *his* friends, at least, were satisfied with the effect of the smooth stone which he sent. If ever a complete and entire overthrow of an opponent was achieved, it was achieved by the writer of the "Letters to Trinitarians and Calvinists." We were satisfied. We think his opponent was. Dr. Woods maintained then, as he maintains now, in his "Lectures," that the evil dispositions, passions, and acts which young children manifest and perform are proof of their native depravity. Dr. Ware replied, that the good dispositions, affections, and acts which they manifest and perform, which are more numerous and constant than the evil ones, prove their native goodness. And he clearly had the argument. The least that can be said is, that he refuted Dr. Woods most conclusively. But, replied Dr. Woods, these good dispositions, affections, propensities, are merely instinctive, and do not prove character. So, replied Dr. Ware, your bad propensities, passions, and dispositions are seen in the young of all animals, and do not prove character, *any more, at least*, than the good ones. Here again it is perfectly obvious that Dr. Ware had the argument. At any rate he had confuted Dr. Woods. An appeal must now be made by Dr. Woods to philosophy. Sin cannot arise from a good nature. As all men sin, all men's natures must be evil. No, says Dr. Ware, your premise is wrong. Adam sinned, so did Eve, and yet God pronounced their natures good, *very* good. Here again Dr. Woods is clearly put in the wrong. But he replies that Adam was an exceptional case; other men are not situated as he was. So be it, replies Dr. Ware; but he and Eve, with no companion but God, no temptations but their own appetites and nature, were much more favorably situated than their posterity, surrounded as they are with evil examples, wicked men, from childhood; and if Adam and Eve could not stand, much *less* could we expect that men since should stand. If Adam fell, much more might we expect that we should fall. But holy angels fell also; so that Adam and Eve are not the only beings with good natures which have turned to sin.

Here, again, it is perfectly evident that Dr. Ware was in the right, and Dr. Woods as evidently was in the wrong. In the "Lectures," he attempts to escape the difficulty in the case of Adam by supposing, and apparently maintaining, that his "disposition *was* changed"; "that God, in a sovereign manner, withheld the influence of his Spirit, which was necessary to shield him from the influence of temptation," "prior to his actual disobedience"!!* That explains it with a vengeance. God changed a holy being into an unholy one to enable him to sin! "Tell it not in Gath! publish it not in the streets of Askelon! lest the daughters of the uncircumcised triumph!" It must have cost the benevolent writer of these "Lectures" a struggle to pen such a sentiment. We honor his courage;—that is too cool a word, his *heroism*. We will not force him to a more unpleasant and revolting task by following back the difficulty, and asking where the depravity was which could do such a deed as he says was performed, before Satan's temptation could be effectual upon the innocent pair. We forbear. The desperateness of the condition of the whole argument is shown very clearly by the desperate means that are resorted to for its rescue from utter annihilation.

We return to the analysis of the argument in the "Letters." Resort is now had to Scripture. Philosophy will not answer; facts will not answer. Those passages are quoted which are usually quoted on such occasions. Dr. Ware interprets them differently, maintains that they refer not to man's nature, but to his acquired condition; not to man's state in infancy, but to man's condition as an adult. He further maintains, that in all cases where children are mentioned, they are spoken of favorably, as being "of the kingdom of heaven," as being models for Christians. And here, too, in our opinion, he is clearly in the right. Dr. Woods, in his "Lectures," quotes a passage from Howe's "Living Temple," which is directly to the point. "As for them that could never hear the Gospel, or *infants* incapable of receiving it, we must consider the Holy Scriptures were written for those that could use them, not for those that could not; therefore, to have inserted in them an account of God's methods of dispensa-

* *Works*, Vol. II. pp. 544, 545, 546.

tion towards such had only served to gratify the curious and unconcerned, not to instruct and benefit such as were concerned." * The Bible does not refer to *infants* when it speaks of sinners, and of all men as being sinners. It speaks of adults, of those arrived at the age of judgment and reasoning. Would that Dr. Woods understood this. It would have saved him much irrelevant reasoning in these "Lectures" and "Letters."

We are not satisfied with the argument on this subject. It does not reach the case. It will not pass through the fire. It is no fault of the Abbott Professor. It inheres in the subject. No man can but fail. It is an argument against reason, consciousness, and Scripture, and it cannot prevail. Let those who wish to see the very best argument in favor of an impossibility read it. They will find their wits sharpened, if their understandings are not enlightened. They will probably be grieved that Dr. Woods has been pleased so often to call all arguments against *him* "cavils against the doctrines of God's holy word"; "speculations, abstract reasonings, conjectures"; "empty notions, imaginations, surmises, dreams, originating in minds disordered and dark, ... in proud and unbelieving hearts." † He even goes so far as to say, that "the spirit in which they originate would, if permitted to prevail, demolish the whole fabric of religion. With those who indulge this spirit, just and sober reasoning has no influence, and truth becomes a dream. . . . . Its proper residence is *the carnal mind which receives not the truth in love.*" ‡ If this is in accordance with the taste of the writer, or with his judgment, or with his feelings, we are sorry. But we cannot help it. There is no remedy in our power. We must say of him, as he says of another, "We will let him alone till he finds out his mistake." There is a very frequent declaration made by Dr. Woods in this part of his "Lectures," whose utter worthlessness has impressed itself so deeply on our minds by its repetition, that we cannot pass it by silently. He avers that the tendency of the Calvinistic view of human nature and man's agency is not to make men feel less guilty, and become less active in repentance and good

* *Works*, Vol. II. p. 345.
† *Works*, Vol. II. pp. 280, 282.
‡ *Works*, Vol. II. p. 366.

deeds, than other men, and he appeals to the lives of "Calvin, Owen, Watts, Edwards, and Brainerd," in confirmation of his assertion. He then says, that the contrary view makes men proud, self-confident, more disposed to sin, less likely to repent. Suppose we ask him, in turn, to look at Channing, the Wares, the Peabodys, Greenwood, Tuckerman. Such appeals to denominational pride will do for a popular speech, though poor for that, but in a "Lecture" room, and from a theological chair, they will not do at all.

The other two subjects named, as being especially demanded by the present state of inquiry, are the "Divine Purposes," and "Atonement." We shall be obliged to pass them without comment, as also the doctrine of "Regeneration," upon which we were especially desirous of making some remarks. We regret this the less, however, as we have already given our readers a pretty good idea of the character of the work, and the method in which the subjects which come up for consideration are handled. We have read it with interest. We advise those who read at all, to read what is best on the subjects examined. We are not convinced. Our opinions are dearer to us than before. We have not been alarmed when we have been called "carnal-minded" and "proud" and "cavillers." We rather pitied the weakness of a cause that was thought, by its shrewdest, not to say ablest advocate, to need such defences. We have found some passages which were not according to our taste, but we were not grievously harmed by them. We have met some statements of such a character, that it is very difficult to understand how the writer could make them. We could about as easily understand the doctrine of the "Divine Purposes." We have met with some arguments which were made of very poor stock, and very poorly put together. The writer undertook an impossible task, and was often in great straits. He was sometimes obliged to manufacture his materials, as well as work them up. He must have experienced the truth of Job's declaration, "Man that is born of woman is full of trouble." "How often," says he, "have I been troubled with the thought" of the "condition of the non-elect." His "disquieted" mind was "often" haunted with the "deformity and horror" of that doctrine. We sympa-

thize with him, we do not wonder at his disquietude. But he will find when his reward is given him, that there is no such doctrine as that whose ghost has spread gloom and "horror" over his mind here. We doubt not he will rejoice to find that his fears were all fictions, his difficulties all imaginations. While we dissent entirely from very many of the writer's views, and detect a want of cogency in many of his arguments, we thank him for these volumes. Within the limits of our reading, there is nothing superior to them, on the subjects which he treats, from the Calvinistic point of view. They will make a part of the permanent volumes of every theologian's library, who wishes to refer to the ablest production of the last half-century which that school of theology has given to the world. R. P. S.

Art. II.—THE STATE AND STATESMANSHIP.

Let us suppose that our next neighbor were President of the United States, or that we lived in England, and that our next neighbor were Queen of England; that we talked with this person, President or Queen, weekly, daily, — about the weather, the crops, the cholera, the Great Exhibition, — about any thing. If it were so, we venture to say, that a great change would come over our minds with regard to this personage. The President, for instance, would become Mr. Fillmore, a *very* pleasant gentleman, of an agreeable countenance and amiable manners; we should *like* Mr. Fillmore very well, and say he was not proud at all. Mr. Fillmore would become *a man*, like the rest of us. It has been justly said, that "no man is great to his *valet de chambre*." The *king of France*, to whom a *common* man could not *speak* but at the annual levee, and a common *Frenchman never*, was, to his household and body-servants, a very active and amiable old gentleman, that they lived with and served: he was sick one day; he was troubled another day, and wore a clouded brow; and they were anxious and careful for him.

But put a thing at a distance from us, — surround it

with conditions inaccessible to us, of wealth, splendor, rank, office, power, — let its whole mode of life and action be strange and unknown to us, — and then it becomes a mystery. Such a mystery, more or less, is the government. Such a mystery is the high official person, — the king, the cabinet minister. It is well for the world, on some accounts, that it has been so. If it was the fate of the world to have bad kings, vicious, voluptuous, unprincipled men to reign over it, as *was* inevitable to arbitrary and irresponsible power, it was well that some veil of mystery, some *cordon sanitaire*, should be thrown around to keep off the contagion from the people.

But *we* have fallen upon other ways of administration; and we deem it desirable that we should take off this veil of mystery from public affairs and public men. We do not want to see legislators, senators, presidents, to be *better* than they are, it is true; but then we do not wish to see them to be *worse* than they are. We would not have any veil of official mystery cut them off from our candor and sympathy. When that veil is suddenly rent by the stroke of death, the actors behind it appear often as humbled and weeping men, and a new sympathy, a sense of human brotherhood, is awakened between us and them; solemn visitants from another world, thoughts of conscience and of God, and of judgment and eternity, take their place in the senate-chamber and at the council-board. We remember such a scene in our own supreme legislative council. A senator, much esteemed and beloved, had suddenly died; and his remains, according to the usage, were brought to the senate-chamber for the last solemn rites. Beneath that pall of death reposed the form which a few days before had stood up there, in the vigor of health and early manhood. A colleague and friend of his, an admiring friend, though of an opposite party, came there pale and trembling from a sick bed, to pay with his brother senators the last homage to their departed associate. He rose and spoke of him; and as he uttered with difficulty a few words of affection and eulogy, — as, pausing and tasking his strength with each succeeding sentence, he repeated the beloved name of his friend, coupling it with some epithet of admiration and description of his character, — slowly, and one by

one, every head in that venerable assembly was bowed down, — each senator shaded his brow with his hand, — and tears fell thick and fast there, as in a mourning household. If we turn our thoughts now to that senate-chamber, as it has been during any agitated session, if we recall the eager, angry, and taunting debates that have sometimes passed there, how different is the scene! The one is a company of frail and mortal men; and the other an assembly, as it may seem to some, of ambitious, prejudiced, and unscrupulous disputants, contending for the North or for the South, for compromise or no compromise, or for personal aims or preferences, with little regard to the high and solemn merits of the questions before them. We say, as it may seem to some; for we must say for ourselves, that more caution and candor seem to us to be required here than are usually found in our Northern and Southern journals; that the very removal from our immediate inspection of these scenes and these actors should make us fear lest we do them injustice. Biases there are, doubtless, in all these debatings, arising from education, interest, and ambition; — where, alas! in what private scene, are there not temptations to mental and moral aberration? — but we will not and do not doubt, that, in the large majority of minds there, of both parties and of all parties, there is some patriotic care for the country; there are anxious and conscientious struggles in the private heart to know the truth and to pursue the right. And we have no doubt, that, if we were conversant and familiar with those minds, and freely talked with them by the fireside of the matters in question, we should come to this conclusion. With but a few exceptions, such as Tiberius, Cæsar Borgia, or Don Pedro the Cruel, men are monsters to us only when they are *at a distance*, whether professional, religious, or political monsters.

Let us, then, approach more nearly to these great subjects, the State and Statesmanship. Let us inquire what they are; and what they are to us, and we to them. What *is* the State? and what is Statesmanship?

A state is an independent community, having lawful sovereignty in itself and amenable to no other earthly authority; living by common consent under a certain constitution and certain laws framed in consonance there-

with. And statesmanship is the administration of the government under the constitution and laws. Now, although to the hands of a few must the latter be confided, yet in the state relation all are subjects, — of either sex, of every age, and of any degree of elevation, though it be the highest, or of depression, though it be the lowest. The state is, at its culminating point, the government, and the government, as an organic power and authority, is for all, — for ruler and subject alike.

But let us, in the first place, take a more general view. The state holds the supreme place. It is the highest visible thing. It is, therefore, not only a political authority, but an immense moral influence, — an influence over the opinions, sentiments, and aims of men. We have sometimes wondered why it is that so large a proportion of the aspiring and leading minds of every country seek their satisfaction through a participation of the civil power. While scientific and literary distinction is really a higher thing, while authorship is a greater thing than office, implies more merit, holds a wider sway, and lives longer in the admiration of men than official position, yet almost every body prefers the latter; and the eminent lawyer, and even scholar, when the opportunity offers, seem almost always ready to forsake *their* path for the post of office. Why is it? As an object of ambition, who had not rather be Tacitus than Vespasian? Who had not rather be Cicero the orator and philosopher, than Cicero the consul or pro-consul, or a dozen such? We remember once, going up into one of the galleries on the Capitoline Hill in Rome, observing that the walls on the stairway were lined with a vast number of marble tablets, bearing the names of the old Roman consuls. We did not know, nobody knew, one in a hundred of them. Seneca, Phædrus, Catullus, Pliny, Varro, any of them are more famous men than these. Why is it, then, that official distinction is so coveted? Why is it that men among us of the highest intellectual power and honor are so eager for the Presidency, are wearing and fretting away their lives with striving for that distinction, when they are already greater than the Presidency, and a step to that pedestal would be for them, intellectually, a step downward? It is, we conceive, because government is visibly the highest thing among us. The government

is the head. We are nurtured in that feeling from our childhood. Authority is venerable to us. The boy reverences the beadle first, then the sheriff, the judge, the governor, the secretary of state, the president, the prime minister, the king; and the upper steps of the pyramid of society are far away, out of sight, surrounded with mystery, and so the more reverenced. The government is the head, the citizens are the members; and we desire to pass from membership to headship. It is natural. There are greater things in the world, indeed, than secretaries, presidents, or kings; there is a wider sway over men than theirs. Walter Scott's is wider, Charles Dickens's, even Jenny Lind's, is wider; but all that is in the realm of reason or of the intellect, and *we* live in a political sphere, and the highest thing in that sphere is government. The state embodies the national life, the grandest form of collective life with which we can sympathize, the largest with which we have strict and formal partnership, — part of us and we a part of it; and the sovereignty over all this common life and will and power is, with reference to organized society, the highest, the most transcendent superiority in the world. It partakes, in fact, as we shall soon show, of the Divine authority itself.

Up to this, then, reverence naturally bears its homage. Up to this all social aspirings rise. It is the fountain of honor, the throne of dominion, the oracle of law. And it is therefore of the utmost importance, it nearly concerns the self-respect and morality of every people, what the government is; what is thought of it; whether it be grounded on right or wrong; whether it be rightly or wrongly administered. A righteous government is a majestic authority to a people; confidence in it is grateful; obedience to it is good and honorable. The relation is beautiful, sacred, and holy. On the contrary, to believe that all is corruption in the high places cannot fail to hurt the moral sense of any people. It is a wearing grief and shame; it is positively demoralizing. Let captious fault-finders, then, let splenetic railers at the government, beware, lest that which they mete out to others be measured back to them. A high, solemn, moral supervision of public opinion over the government is another thing. But obviously and either way, the ideal of the sovereign administration, what it ought to be, and

the idea of it, what it is, — these are matters of no light concern to us, but of the very highest.

And any how, in the next place, the thing is not to be escaped. We are born into the state. We are members of it whether we will or not. The no-government man may swell with the conceit of independence, or shrink with disdain of coercion, but he cannot help himself. He must pay taxes. He must obey the laws, or suffer the penalties of disobedience. He breathes the air of our political institutions. He experiences the security and shares the blessings of government, deny its authority as he may. He may say he will have nothing to do with it; but it has a great deal to do with him. We are born into the state. It is the doctrine of some creeds, that children are born into the Church; and it is a good doctrine, if it be meant that they are born into its nurturing and guiding care. But in the same sense we are received at birth into the fostering and protecting bosom of the state. We are subjects of it before we can choose, and citizens before we can vote our acquiescence. It sends us to school; provides for our instruction, at least, if our parents do not. It takes charge of our youth. If the boy steals, it will punish him. If he shoots robins in July, the law may take him in hand; and we wish it might, if he shoots on our ground.

We are saying things very obvious, — that do not need any statement, it may be thought; but we wish to show, simple though it be, that a political organization stands on the earth in every country, into which every human being is born; and that to some such organization every human being is bound to pay homage.

And now we say, finally, that the political organization stands there by the ordinance of God. Imagine for a moment that this framework of a state constitution were suddenly removed, were just taken up and off from the land, and laid aside. We stand then for the hour in perfect independence; all these proprietors of houses, farms, and estates live apart, — each one alone and by himself, — and there is no bond to any common will. What follows? Why, to-morrow one man removes the bounds between himself and his neighbor, takes possession of a part of his farm, and says he will maintain it. Another assails, beats, robs, or kills his neighbor in his house or

field, and there is no redress. In short, stealing, plundering, fighting, as among savages, is the order of the day. This soon becomes intolerable. The neighbors meet; they enter into combinations; they make laws; they institute courts; they appoint judges. Here is the beginning of government. Next, roads are to be opened and kept in repair; it is a common concern; no one alone will do it, or ought to do it; there must be coöperation. Then there is barter, trade; and weights, measures, moneys, must be fixed by common consent. The system grows, enlarges, embraces a whole country,—makes a nation. The complicated interests of this nation must have supervision, management; there must be a general government. Where individuals contended before, districts, counties, states, will contend now, unless there be some supreme control. This general government, too, must have officers to administer it, and these must be paid. There must be taxes, revenues, a treasury. The citizens wish to send letters to one another all over the country; the care of this is best confided to the government. The community wants harbors to be made or improved, breakwaters, light-houses, to be built; these are matters of common concern, and *they* are confided to the government. The country wants defence against aggression,—forts, arms, military and naval forces. There must be departments, bureaus for the care of all these interests, with officers, clerks, agents. Finally, the nation has relations with other nations, and there must be a head, or cabinet, and ambassadors to transact affairs with them.

Here, then, is the whole mystery of the state. It grows out of the very principles and relations of humanity. It springs from necessity. It is as much the ordinance of God as the bond of humanity itself. Organization, not isolation, is the law of all people, of all communities. Organization is better for them than isolation; it better advances the general welfare, happiness, virtue, progress of society,—nay, is necessary to these ends. Therefore it is the will of God; therefore government is a Divine ordinance.

Now, we do not know how our readers will regard it; but in our apprehension this is a conclusion of immense importance, and one that needs to be very distinctly presented to the people of this country. We have a great

respect for the *law*, it is true, — for trial by jury and for the decisions of the courts. It is a good habit of thinking which we have derived from our English ancestors. So far it is well. But for the superior government, for the very function of government, there is far less veneration and regard among us than there is in the Old World. Wholesome political criticism among us has run to enormous license; and the supreme government of the nation is treated with an indignity and abuse, with a freedom and foulness of language, that a decent man would hardly think of using towards his meanest neighbor. Some vulgar editor thinks it a fine thing to call General Taylor Old Zack, or General Jackson Old Hickory; and it becomes a fashion, and takes with those who should know better. But such usages do not spring up where there is a due respect for high office. Cromwell was not called Old Noll from a feeling of respect.

Nay, we have it set down in grave and deliberate speech, that in *this* country the *people* is the government, that the people make the government, that all authority comes from the people. Now, we take it upon us to deny every one of these propositions. The people is *not* the government, and does *not* make it, and does *not* impart to it all its authority. The people choose those who shall administer the government; but what people *makes* the government, except in some crisis, rarely occurring? *We* did not make our government. Its framers lived nearly eighty years ago; and even *they* acted under an ordinance that was superior to their own will, — the ordinance of the Supreme Governor of the world, which obliges a nation to have a government. And if they had established a government that was unjust, founded it in iniquity, ordained, for instance, that none but thieves and liars should rule, would that have been a legitimate authority? Surely not. And why not? Because there is a law above the human will. Government, in its essence, is more of God than of men. Without a sense of right which refers directly to Him as lawgiver, without a constitution of things created by Him, there could be no such thing as sovereignty in a state. Sovereignty, government, is not mere force; if it were, the lion in a desert, the strongest ox in a herd, might be a governor. It is not mere force. It never was, in theory. In the rudest

ages, government claimed to reign of right. It claimed of God. The most despotic kings have claimed to reign by the grace of God. And our own free sovereignty, the sovereignty of the Constitution, the sovereignty of the best system that we could devise, has no inferior claim.

That our own system, let us say in passing, *is* the best for us and for all extended empires, we are, for our part, more and more persuaded, the more we reflect upon it; that is to say, a union of general and state administrations. The general government secures order and peace among the several departments, among what would otherwise be, as in Germany, hostile and warring dukedoms and states. At the same time, the local or state administration will best take care of local or state interests. A consolidated government, like the old Roman empire, an absolute sovereignty, ruling over dependent provinces, and sending out pro-consuls to govern them, will always do great injustice. Imagine such a pro-consul, a stranger, sent from some distant central government here, to Massachusetts, to represent the national sovereignty for a year or two, and then to be supplanted by another; and compare this with our own governor and legislature, and you will immediately feel the difference. We do not believe that the wit of man has ever devised, or ever will devise, a better system than this union of national and state sovereignty. To *us* it is the best; and for *us* it is a holy thing.

But to return to the argument. To this authority and sacredness of our Constitution, and indeed of any possible government, there is one objection which we must consider a moment before we leave this part of the subject. A man says, "My conscience is against this system, this sovereignty, this form of government, or some of its provisions, and as I revere the God of conscience, I cannot pay the homage or obedience that you demand." Then, we answer, there are four things, some or other of which you must do; for there is no alternative. You must leave the country, — leave the jurisdiction; or you must suffer the penalty of disobedience; or you must change the Constitution or the obnoxious law; or you must overthrow the government, by a violent revolution. Now, the persons who thus object, we suppose, have no idea of leaving the country, and they have no

idea of overthrowing the government; and therefore they are shut up to one of these two things, as the only legitimate thing for them to do, and that is, either to submit to the penalty, or to effect a change in the Constitution or the obnoxious law.

But let us pass now from the State to Statesmanship, —from the theory of government to the administration of it.

It is a sublime, and ought to be considered a sacred function. A just ideal of it is of corresponding importance. We create good by conceiving of it. Public sentiment is the great reformer. It therefore concerns every people to compare the actual government under which they live with a high and true ideal. This is what we shall undertake to do, in the spirit, not of partisan, but of moral criticism, with regard to the government of our own country.

Statesmanship, we repeat, is a high and momentous function. It affects the interests of millions of people. It requires an extraordinary combination of qualities, sound sense, vast knowledge, clear reasoning, firmness, decision, courage, and the fear of God. We say the fear of God! *God* governs this world. Men govern under him; and this delegated trust must be accepted, and when men's minds are right will be accepted, with humility and awe. The question is often discussed, What is the greatest thing that can be done in this world? and some have said, it is to command armies, like Napoleon, and others, to write books, like Homer or Bacon. In this view, we were struck with an observation once made in conversation by the late Mr. Calhoun. "The greatest action of a human mind," he said, "is, in great national emergencies, to pronounce the true word that shall safely and honorably guide a people through all its perils and difficulties. It implies," he added, "the fullest knowledge of the past, the largest comprehension of the present, and the clearest insight into the future, that can be given to mortal man."

The author of the Latter-Day Pamphlets has loudly demanded "the government of the best," as that which the world must get, or the world will go to perdition; but, with his usual failure of all practical solution of the problems he raises, he gives no hint of the way by which the

world is to arrive at a consummation so devoutly to be wished. He repudiates the *lineal* descent of power; he ridicules *popular election*; what, then, would he have done? We do not know; but one thing is certain, and that is, that the world is more and more demanding the government of the best, — demanding the best government, — demanding wisdom, dignity, strength, honor, truth, in those who administer its affairs. The rapidly growing enlightenment, the sense, reflection, knowledge, culture of society, is making this exaction with increasing loudness; it is insisting upon reality instead of shams, upon a plain and honest intent, and fair and true dealing, instead of pompous formalities and endless chicanery and pretence. The people will not always consent that men, because they are public men, shall be more selfish, self-seeking, passionate, partisan, prejudiced, and unprincipled than any other men. That *has* been the way with the world. No men so reckless of right as kings. No men so little *expected* dispassionately to listen to the just claim, as men in power. Office has been looked upon for ages, not as an open door of entrance to the cry for justice, but as a barricade to hedge around the ruler's mind and conscience against the appeal. Public sentiment has tolerated in politicians, legislators, ay, in Congress-men, what it would endure in no other men charged with important trusts.

We say Congress-men. We will speak of that body of men with none but the most guarded language. We deprecate the ordinary freedom of speech with regard to it. We shall speak, not with anger and violence, but with reluctance and with consideration; not with any party bias, but with a criticism upon all parties alike. Such sober and thoughtful criticism is our right, and it is our duty.

It is our duty in every view. This body of men is seated upon a high platform, in sight of the whole people. It is justly looked up to as an *example* in its manners, conduct, and principles. Its action is of the widest and deepest import to us.

Now, what in right theory is this body of men? It is a representative body. It meets for deliberation on our interests; it is charged with the care of them; it is sworn to that duty; it is paid for the service. A whole district

of people cannot go to Washington to attend to its affairs, and the general affairs of the republic. It chooses a man to go in its stead, — to act for it; just as the stockholders of a bank choose a body of directors to take care of their interest, and the common interest of the institution.

Now, we will not ask what would be thought of it, if in the directors' room of a bank the lie were given, or if a blow were struck, or a pistol drawn, — the general reprobation both in and out of Congress has stamped such actions clearly enough; but we ask, what would be thought by the stockholders of such an institution, if the directors whom they had chosen to watch over and advance their interests should occupy themselves chiefly at every meeting with canvassing for the next president of the board, with making long speeches, not about any business in hand, but only in the interest of certain rival parties, — speeches so irrelevant to their proper duties, so entirely uncalled for, so wearisomely repetitious, such mere sham speeches, that nobody listened to them, — while some very important matters at each meeting were entirely neglected, and others hastily decided upon, just as the meeting was breaking up?

We need not say what would be thought of it, and we need not ask what our readers have been thinking of, while we have made this supposition. They know that this is a picture of that august body, the supreme legislature of this country, and especially of the popular branch of it; for we mainly except from this charge the superior branch, the Senate. Speaking there is generally a real contribution to the business in hand.

But how is it ordinarily with the other house? What is it that occupies more than half of each session? Is it a doing of the business of the nation? Is it a careful examination of the state of the country, of the needs of the country, of bills for the relief of one class and another of the citizens, of patent laws, of revenue laws, of the various appropriations for the public service? Far from it. It is making speeches from morning till night, for party ends or for personal interest with the members' constituents. It is making speeches, — for *Buncombe*, we believe, is the phrase, — speeches which positively are ***not debates***; which are ***not designed*** to assist any member's

legislative judgment upon business before the house; which are mere repetitions of threadbare partisan diatribes; which nobody listens to; which are not intended to be heard by any body there present, but to be printed and read out of doors; while the most important business of the country is neglected and postponed, and at last is huddled up and hurried through, pell-mell, in the two or three closing days of the session.

Such sham debate is a fraud upon the nation. It is a gross falsehood stamped upon the brow of the national honor. If it were not on this account a most serious thing, it would be, in other views, the most ludicrous thing imaginable. A man speaking to nobody, swinging his arms like a windmill for nothing! We are amazed that honorable members can bear it. We wonder that they don't grow thin upon such meagre diet, that their minds at least do not waste and decay. We are astonished that honest and high-minded men — for such there are in Congress — can endure this thing. Why, we could not bear a creaking windmill before our very door, though it ground much corn. But these human windmills grind out nothing, unless it be the grist that was ground yesterday. It is *all* wind and creaking.

We aver that this is a most extraordinary anomaly in legislation; nothing like it was ever known in the British Parliament, or the French Chambers, or anywhere else. *Is* it to settle down into a custom here? Is it to be acquiesced in among us? We are very sorry to hear something like acquiescence frequently expressed, and for this very reason, *because* we think the public mind needs to be aroused to this evil, we speak our mind the more plainly. "Let them talk," it is said; "there is no harm in that; better talk than legislate; the more speeches the fewer laws; so much the better." This reckless language, too often heard, is a double indignity to the legislature. It is saying, as if we spoke of fools, and not wise men, "Let them make what sport they will among themselves, so they do nothing worse." No, we say, demand of legislators that they be true, sincere, honest men. Demand that they do the business of the nation. When that is done, let them go home. They are wanted at home. These long sessions are not good

for them; to many of them they are a great inconvenience, and even an unhappiness to some. Let such, then, abate the nuisance of idle and sham speaking. Let them, if nothing else will do, apply the rough check of the British Parliament; let them shuffle and cough down such automaton orators. That would be honest and manly, if it is not courteous. It is *not* manly nor honest to suffer such systematic falsehood to be perpetrated in the presence of the legislature, and before the face of the nation. Besides, there is a great deal to be done by Congress, and there is a great deal which, through this boundless toleration and license of speech, fails to be done.

We are not using this strong language without warrant. We have *seen*, and if not for ourselves, for our neighbors, have felt the evil that we speak of. And since observation and experience are better than abstract representations, we will, with the reader's permission, refer to what we have seen and known.

Three years ago, the writer of this article passed a winter in Washington. He attended the debates of the House day after day; perhaps he would never have known what they were but for that actual inspection. He *heard* men, for the first time in his life, making speeches to nobody and for nothing; for nothing, that is to say, that concerned the business of that assembly. It is a literal fact, that often not five persons, sometimes not one person, apparently, in that whole house, was paying any attention to the speaker. Why should they? The speech — of course there were exceptions — but four times out of five the speech was a sort of caucus declamation, the substance of which had already been said over and over again twenty or thirty times, and was not intended for the enlightenment of any body there present. Thus the session was wearing away. One evening, near the close of it, the writer was surprised by a visit from a committee of inventors assembled at Washington to obtain the passage of a patent law, who came to ask him if he would deliver a lecture "on the claims of inventive art" the next evening, in the Hall of the House of Representatives. They thought it would be of service to their cause thus to invite the public attention to it, and the time was pressing. He

was obliged to answer, that it was impossible for him, on such short notice, to do a thing so entirely out of his way; and, indeed, he may say, without any affected humility, that their application to him was proof enough how humble were their means of influence. A Whig committee, or a Democratic committee, or a committee on the tariff, would have been in no such friendless predicament. However, they interested him so much, that he told them he would do all he could do; he would spend the next day in going round and speaking with the members whom he knew. Accordingly, he was *guilty* for once of becoming "a lobby member." He went to the Speaker, and to the most influential members of the House. They all said they had no particular objection to the bill before them; it *did* require more thorough discussion; it was a difficult subject to deal with; but the great discouragement *now* was want of time; they feared it could not be properly got before them; but if it did come up, they promised to vote for it. It did come up; it passed the House, and the next day, the last of the session, it was lost in the Senate by the merest chicanery. And thus an important measure, involving the welfare of many most meritorious and worthy men, was whistled down the wind on the breath of idle debate. He saw the result with pain and indignation, and then resolved that, in some form or other, he would make his protest against the crying injustice of turning the house of our supreme legislature into a caucusing-hall.

We shall now venture upon a criticism on the course of things in our national legislature, of a much wider application, and that is upon the one-sidedness of almost all debate and action there. What, in right theory, is a legislature? It is a body of men met together to consult with one another upon the common welfare, and to make laws and ordinances for the whole people. A court of justice is a totally different thing. There, parties come; lawyers properly represent them; and there is a judge to sum up the arguments in the case. A legislature is a *council*, where each member is bound to contribute what he can to the right thinking and action of the whole body. Must it, then, always be, and shall we never see any thing better, that almost all debate in

such a body shall for ever be a mere one-sided, special pleading; that scarcely one speaker shall ever be found to see any thing right in the arguments of his opponents, — for opponents of course there must be, — but that the whole business, action, speech, of opponents shall aim to assail, vilify, and circumvent one another, and that the legislative assembly shall be intellectually and morally a bear-garden, rather than a grave and dispassionate council. Such is the fashion in legislation of this nineteenth century; but we predict with confidence, if civilization much advances, that the world will see a new thing in its loftiest spheres for reasoning and action. It is no wonder that the words politician, statesman, member of Congress or of Parliament, which ought to mean some of the greatest things, things of the highest dignity in the world, do not mean so now. Why, the theologians, the physicians, the *savants*, are beginning to drop these old modes of discussion. It is bad taste, bad rhetoric, bad judgment. If we wanted to make simply the greatest impression, the best speech, we would fairly weigh and admit the force of opposing arguments; but how often, we pray to know, is such a thing heard in Congress? It was as novel as it was refreshing to hear the great Massachusetts Senator begin a speech with saying, "I wish to speak to-day, not as a Massachusetts man, nor as a Northern man, but as an American and a member of the Senate of the United States."

How much would it do for good legislation, if one member should truly and honestly endeavor to help the judgment of another, with a simple view to bring matters to a right issue! What an admirable thing would it be to hear one member say of another, "So far I admit that he is right, but there is another point which I would respectfully contest." It would be an example of candor and wisdom to the whole nation. We verily believe that it would soon give a new tone to all newspaper and fireside controversy. But now Congressional discussion but breathes a spirit of recrimination and violence through the whole country. We can tell that high body that all the better part of the nation looks up to it with a sore, pained, and grieved feeling, entertaining doubt and distrust where it longs to pay respect and homage. And it would come down upon the heart of

this whole nation as healing and balm and gladness, if in that high, assembled legislature, charged with the sacred interests of twenty millions of people, were only found a spirit of sincerity and truth, of calmness and candor, and of patriotism, looking singly at the common weal.

On that lofty theatre men are striving for an honorable fame. And for noble ambition there is no nobler theatre. Who would not deserve well of his country? Who would not commit his name in trust to its annals and archives? Who would not honorably interweave his life's story with the history of his country, — of its science, its literature, its arts, or its government? But no base life shall ever win the "mighty meed" of that "large honor." No grand echoes from the bosom of future time shall return to celebrate the tricks and shams of low-minded, unprincipled partisan politicians.

But it is time that we should bring our somewhat desultory remarks to a close.

It is said that we Americans are, as it were, born politicians; that we discuss politics, talk politics, think of politics, as if it were the one interest of life. May we be permitted to suggest, that this tendency should be turned to some good account? Instead of this eternal reading of newspapers, and all on one side, we would say, Read books; read Aristotle's Politics; read John Adams on the Constitution; read Blackstone. Study the science of government; see what are the grounds of it. Set up an ideal of the right government; strive to have it realized in our own. Bring men, measures, methods, to that test.

Immense interests are at stake. Politics is a subject of high and commanding concern. Statesmanship is a noble field. Practically, they embrace the largest range of human affairs, rights, duties, interests. That great man, whom England has lately mourned as her greatest poet,* once said to us in conversation, "I am chiefly known to the world as a poet, but, during my whole life, I think that for one hour that I have given to poetry I have given twelve to politics." We ventured to say in reply, that we were not surprised, "for the spirit of *your* poetry," we said, "is emphatically the spirit of human-

* Wordsworth.

ity; and the grandest form of the visible interests of humanity is the state and statesmanship."

Thinking thus, we have ventured upon this attempt to commend the subject to the attention of our readers.

O. D.

Art. III. — JOHN WYCLIFFE AND THE FIRST ENGLISH BIBLE.*

It is remarkable that so important a work as Wycliffe's Bible should have remained in manuscript for nearly five hundred years, and be now for the first time printed. We know, from contemporary authorities, that, not long after it was translated, numerous copies were made by the laborious and costly process of transcription, and that persons of all ranks, from the monarch to the common laborer, were eager to procure for themselves, even at great expense, this vernacular version of the Scriptures.† Soon, however, the most severe laws were enacted for its suppression. A single specimen of these will be sufficient to show the spirit of the times, and will enable us better to understand the difficulties and dangers which have attended the preservation of this great treasure.

Bishop Bale, in his account of the sufferings and death of Sir John Oldcastle, Lord Cobham, who, for holding the doctrines of Wycliffe, suffered martyrdom in the reign of Henry the Fifth, says: —

"In the said Parliament the king made this most blasphemous and cruel act, to be a law for ever: — that whatsoever they were that should read the Scriptures in the mother tongue (which was then called Wycliffe's learning), they should forfeit land, cattle, body, life, and goods from their heirs for ever, and so be con-

* *The Holy Bible, containing the Old and New Testaments, with the Apocryphal Books, in the earliest English Versions made from the Latin Vulgate by John Wycliffe and his Followers;* edited by the Rev. Josiah Forshall, F. R. S., etc., late Fellow of Exeter College, and Sir Frederic Madden, K. H., F. R. S., etc., Keeper of the MSS. in the British Museum. Oxford, at the University Press. 1850. Four volumes. 4to.

† The cost of a New Testament was equal to the salary of a curate for a year; and of an entire Bible in proportion. Fox, *Acts and Monuments*, Vol. I. p. 804, London ed. 1684, and *The English Hexapla*, p. 36.

demned for heretics to God, enemies to the crown, and most errant traitors to the land. Besides this, it was enacted, that never a sanctuary nor privileged ground within the realm should hold them, though they were still permitted to both thieves and murderers. And if in case they would not give over, or were after their pardon relapsed, they should suffer death in two manner of kinds; that is, they should first be hanged for treason against the king, and then be burned for heresy against God." *

Notwithstanding the severity of the laws, and the fact that a great many copies of the Bible in this version were destroyed by the officers of government, a considerable number have been preserved, and may now be found in some of the principal libraries of Great Britain; but it has never till the last year been printed entire.

The New Testament in what was supposed to be Wycliffe's original version was printed in a folio volume, under the editorial supervision of the Rev. John Lewis, at London, in 1731. This was reprinted, with a valuable Introduction, by the Rev. H. H. Baber, in a quarto volume, at London, in 1810. In Bagster's English Hexapla, quarto, London, 1841, we have what purports to be Wycliffe's New Testament, after a different manuscript from that used by the former editors. But all three editions, it now appears evident, were printed from the *revision* of Wycliffe's version made by some of his contemporaries, or followers. In 1848 William Pickering, of London, published in a small quarto volume, beautifully printed in black letter, the New Testament as it was originally translated by Wycliffe. No other portion of this Bible has been before published, if we except some few specimens given by the biographers of the author, or by writers on early Biblical versions.

This first English Bible has not heretofore, we think, attracted that attention to which its great importance entitles it. By some it has been regarded as a valuable memorial of the learning, zeal, and industry of the translator; by others, as merely an antique bibliographical curiosity. Indeed, it has for a long time been a sealed book to all but the privileged few who were skilled in the mysteries of ancient chirography, and familiar with the obsolete words of the earliest English

* *Select Works of Bishop Bale*, published by the Parker Society, Cambridge, 1849, p. 50.

literature. There have, however, always been scholars, in other countries as well as in England, who have felt that the publication of this version would be not only a just tribute to the memory of the author, but a really valuable contribution to the treasury of letters. The philologist, no less than the theologian and the student of history, had, it was truly said, a deep interest in this matter. Other nations had at great expense published their early versions of the Scriptures, while this, in some respects the most important of all, seemed doomed to perpetual oblivion. From the time of Fabricius, the eminent bibliographer, the English people have often been reproached for this neglect. Some of their most learned scholars and wisest men have felt and acknowledged the national disgrace. But it was a work involving a great amount of editorial labor, and a large investment of capital, without the prospect of a profitable return to the publishers. It is not strange, therefore, that private enterprise should hesitate to undertake such a publication. The liberal patronage of the Delegates of the University Press at Oxford in providing for the expense of the work, encouraged the editors, the Rev. Josiah Forshall and Sir Frederic Madden, to commence their task more than twenty years ago, and to continue their labors till the work was completed.

This work embraces two entire and nearly contemporaneous versions of the Scriptures, printed side by side for the convenience of comparison. The first and earlier of these is Wycliffe's, which was made about the year 1380. The second is a revision of that version, supposed to have been prepared several years afterwards, principally by John Purvey, Wycliffe's curate at Lutterworth. The editors have compared the text of the copies from which they printed with numerous other manuscripts, and have given at the bottom of each page the various readings. They have furnished a copious glossary, which will not only be of service to the reader of these volumes, but "will be found by the philologist highly serviceable in enabling him to ascertain the usage of words at a definite period of our language." The Preface, of thirty-eight pages, includes a short history of what had previously been done in England towards a translation of the Scriptures into the

vernacular tongue; an account of the translation by Wycliffe and his contemporaries; a notice of the manuscripts used by the editors, and a statement of the method which they pursued in preparing the volumes for the press. They introduce their remarks as follows: —

"The versions now for the first time printed in an entire form, may be regarded as the earliest in the English language, which embrace any considerable portion of the Holy Scriptures. Though never used in the public service of the Church, they must have been widely circulated as well among the clergy as the laity, from the period of their completion in the latter part of the fourteenth century, until their place was occupied by the editions of the reign of Henry the Eighth. The influence which they exercised upon the religious opinions and sentiments of the nation at large was, without question, extensive. In the interval between the years 1382 and 1526 they diffused a great amount of Scriptural truth; supplied to the opponents of the Papal system the most effectual means of exposing its abuses and errors; and thus laid a deep foundation for the reforms of the sixteenth century." — *Preface*, Vol. I. p. i.

A history of the Anglo-Saxon and early English versions of portions of the Scriptures is then given. This agrees pretty nearly with the statements of Lewis, Baber, Townley, and other previous writers on the same subject. It is here shown quite conclusively, that Sir Thomas More was mistaken in his opinion that before Wycliffe's time the whole Bible had been translated into English. There were Anglo-Saxon versions of considerable portions of the Old and New Testaments, and English versions of the Psalter and parts of the Gospels. It is worthy of note, that Wycliffe's Bible was the first English prose work of any magnitude after the language had acquired a distinctive character, in the fourteenth century.*

"Down to the year 1360, the Psalter appears to be the only book of Scripture which had been entirely rendered into Eng-

* "A copious and forcible language, formed by an infusion of Norman-French into German, was now the common property of the aristocracy and the people. Nor was it long before genius began to apply that admirable machine to worthy purposes. . . . . English poets depicted in vivid tints all the wide variety of human manners and fortunes, and English thinkers aspired to know, or dared to doubt, where bigots had been content to wonder and to believe. The same age which produced the Black Prince and Derby, Chandos, and Hawkwood, produced also Geoffrey Chaucer and John Wycliffe." Macaulay, *Hist. Eng.*, Vol. I. Chap. I.

lish. Within less than twenty-five years from this date a prose version of the whole Bible, including as well the apocryphal as the canonical books, had been completed, and was in circulation among the people. For this invaluable gift, England is indebted to John Wycliffe. It may be impossible to determine with certainty the exact share which his own pen had in the translation, but there can be no doubt that he took a part in the labor of producing it, and that the accomplishment of the work must be attributed mainly to his zeal, encouragement, and direction. It was not probably until his later years that Wycliffe matured so extensive a design. He was led to the undertaking slowly and gradually; and it was not completed until after several preliminary efforts." — *Ibid.* p. vi.

The brief and imperfect account of this remarkable version, which is contained in the above extract, is about all that can now be known with certainty concerning its history. We know that the study of Hebrew and Greek was at that period almost entirely neglected in England and throughout the continent of Europe. Wycliffe therefore in all probability was not competent, even if he could have obtained Hebrew and Greek Biblical manuscripts, to make his version from those languages. He gave a pretty exact and literal translation of the Latin Vulgate. Purvey, the author of the revised version, which in this publication accompanies Wycliffe's, gives us in his Prologue to the Old Testament some account of his plan of proceeding; but it is much to be regretted that we have so little knowledge on the subject.

"The persons who were thus engaged in preparing translations of Scripture anticipated, it is evident, powerful opposition to its circulation among the people, and regarded the task upon which they ventured, as attended with danger to themselves. From this apprehension it is, that the obscurity in part arises which attends the history of these translations; since the authors never make known their names, and are careful to avoid the mention of circumstances which might lead to their detection." — *Ibid.* p. xiii.

Purvey's Prologue, which occupies sixty pages in this edition, has been printed separately three times before, as follows: — 1st. In 1536, under the title of "The Door of Holy Scripture"; 2d. In 1540, with the same title; 3d. In 1550, with the title, "The Pathway to Perfect

Knowledge." The object of the author is to give a general account of the contents of the different books of the Bible and their writers. He is careful, however, to intermingle a good deal of wholesome advice and instruction on various matters suggested by his subject, and peculiarly applicable to the period when the work was first circulated.

Towards the close of the Prologue, the author, after showing that it was in accordance with the Divine will that the Scriptures should be read by all people, proceeds to give an account of the manner in which his work was accomplished. In the following extract, the original orthography and the now obsolete words are given without alteration, and furnish a fair specimen of the written language during the latter part of the fourteenth century.

" Also Crist seith of the Jewis that crieden Osanna to him in the temple, that thouȝ thei weren stille stoonis schulen crie, and bi stoonis he vndirstondith hethen men, that worshipiden stoonis for her goddis. And we Englische men ben comen of hethen men, therfore we ben vndirstonden bi thes stonis, that schulden crie hooly writ, and as Jewis, interpretid knowlechinge, singnefien clerkis, that schulden knouleche to God, bi repentaunce of synnes, and bi vois of Goddis heriyng, so oure lewide men, suynge the corner ston Crist, mowen be singnefied bi stonis, that ben harde and abydinge in the foundement; for thouȝ couetouse clerkis ben woode by simonie, eresie, and manye othere synnes, and dispisen and stoppen holi writ, as myche as thei moun, ȝit the lewid puple crieth aftir holi writ, to kunne it, and keep it, with greet cost and peril of here lif. For these resons and othere, with comune charite to saue alle men in oure rewme, whiche God wole haue sauid, a symple creature hath translatid the bible out of Latyn into English. First, this symple creature hadde myche trauaile, with diuerse felawis and helperis, to gedere manie elde biblis, and othere doctouris, and comune glosis, and to make oo Latyn bible sumdel trewe; and thanne to studie it of the newe, the text with the glose, and othere doctouris, as he miȝte gete, and speciali Lire on the elde testament, that helpide ful myche in this werk; the thridde tyme to counseile with elde gramariens, and elde dyuynis, of harde wordis, and harde sentencis, hou tho miȝten best be vndurstonden and translatid; the iiij. tyme to translate as cleerli as he coude to the sentence, and to haue manie gode felawis and kunnynge at the correcting of the translacioun. . . . . At the bigynnyng I purposide, with Goddis helpe,

to make the sentence as trewe and open in English as it is in Latyn, either more trewe and more open than it is in Latyn; and I preie, for charite and for comoun profyt of christene soulis, that if ony wiys man fynde ony defaute of the truthe of translacioun, let him sette in the trewe sentence and opin of holi writ, but loke that he examyne truli his Latyn bible, for no doute he shal fynde ful manye biblis in Latyn ful false, if he loke manie, nameli newe; and the comune Latyn biblis han more nede to be correctid, as manie as I haue seen in my lif, than hath the English bible late translatid." — pp. 56–58.

The prefatory Epistles of St. Jerome are published in the two translations, immediately after the translator's Prologue, and occupy eighteen pages. Then we have, in full, the text of Wycliffe's Bible and the revision by Purvey, printed in parallel columns. The chapters are printed as they were written, continuously, without division into verses or paragraphs. But the editors have placed in the margin small figures corresponding with the modern division into verses, for convenience of reference. The first twelve verses of the first chapter of Genesis will give the reader a pretty good idea of the two versions.

Wycliffe.

"In the firste made God of nouȝt heuene and erthe. The erthe forsothe was veyn with ynne and void, and derknessis weren vpon the face of the see; and the Spiryt of God was born vpon the watrys. And God seide, Be maad liȝt; and maad is liȝt. And God sawȝ liȝt, that it was good, and deuydid liȝt fro derknessis; and clepide liȝt, day, and derknessis, nyȝt. And maad is euen and morn, o day. Seide forsothe God, Be maad a firmament in the myddel of watres, and dyuyde it watres fro watrys. And God made the firmament, and dyuydid watris that weren vndre the firmament fro thes that weren aboue the fermament;

Purvey.

"In the bigynnyng God made of nouȝt heuene and erthe. Forsothe the erthe was idel and voide, and derknessis weren on the face of depthe; and the Spiryt of the Lord was borun on the watris. And God seide, Liȝt be maad, and liȝt was maad. And God seiȝ the liȝt, that it was good, and he departide the liȝt fro derknessis; and he clepide the liȝt, dai, and the derknessis, nyȝt. And the euentid and morwetid was maad, o daie. And God seide, The firmament be maad in the myddis of watris, and departe watris fro watris. And God made the firmament, and departide the watris that weren vndur the

and it is maad so. And God clepide the firmament, heuene. And maad is euen and morn, the secounde day. God forsothe seide, Gadrid be watris, the whiche ben vndre heuene, in to o place, and apere the drie; and maad it is so. And God clepid the drie, erthe; and the Gaderyngis of watris he clepide, sees. And God saiȝ that it was good; and saith, Burion the erthe grene erbe and makynge seed, and appletre makynge fruyt after his kynd, whos seed ben in hym silf, vpon the erthe; and maad it is so. And the erthe brouȝte forthe grene erbe and makynge seed aftre his kynde, and tree makynge fruyt, and echon hauynge seed after his special kynde. And God saiȝ that it were good."

firmament fro these watris that weren on the firmament; and it was don so. And God clepide the firmament, heuene. And the euentid and morwetid was maad, the secounde dai. Forsothe God seide, The watris, that ben vndur heuene, be gaderid in to o place, and a drie place appere; and it was doon so. And God clepide the drie place, erthe; and he clepide the gadryngis togidere of watris, the sees. And God seiȝ that it was good; and seide, The erthe brynge forth greene eerbe and makynge seed, and appil tre makynge fruyt bi his kynde, whos seed be in it silf on erthe; and it was doon so. And the erthe brouȝte forth greene erbe and makynge seed bi his kynde, and a tre makynge fruyt, and ech hauynge seed by his kynde. And God seiȝ that it was good."

There are numerous instances in which the translators have given a specific name, according to their own fancy, instead of the generic one which alone is warranted by the original. The "fruit-tree" in our authorized translation, Gen. i. 11, is more comprehensive and more correct than the *apple-tree* of Wycliffe and Purvey. Adam calls Eve a *virago* instead of "woman," Gen. ii. 23. In the third chapter of Genesis these old translators give us the particular kind of serpent that tempted Eve, namely, the *adder*. We wonder whether the celebrated commentator, Dr. Adam Clarke, who is known to have owned one of these ancient manuscript Bibles, noticed this rendering before he published his learned theory, in which he endeavored to prove that the tempter was an *ape*. The Magi or "wise men" who came from the East to Jerusalem, Matt. ii. 1, are in these versions called *astronomers*. "The light of the body," &c., Matt. vi. 22, Wycliffe translates, *The lanterne*. Instead of "leaven,"

Matt. xvi. 6, he makes the Saviour to warn his disciples to beware of the *sour dough* of the Pharisees and of the Sadducees. John the Baptist, according to Wycliffe, was to drink neither wine nor *cider*, Luke i. 15.

The peculiar translation of Genesis iii. 7, which gave to the Genevan version the name of "The Breeches Bible," occurs in Wycliffe's, and is retained by Purvey in his revision. There are some passages which are more correctly translated in this earliest English Bible than in our common version. As an instance, we give 2 Timothy iii. 16. Instead of "all Scripture *is* given by inspiration," &c., as it is in our common version, we find a truer translation as follows: — "For all Scripture inspired of God is profitable," &c. Other passages to the same point might be selected, but since it is not our intention to enter upon a critical review of the translation, so much as to call attention to the publication and indicate its general character, the above will answer our purpose. The version may with truth be called a pretty accurate translation from the Latin Vulgate into the best English of the time when it was made.

The most beneficial effects were produced by the circulation of the Scriptures in the vernacular tongue of the people. We cannot tell with any degree of exactness to what extent copies were multiplied, but we have every reason to suppose that they were very numerous.

"The new version was eagerly sought after and read. Copies passed into the hands of all classes of the people. Even the sovereign himself and the princes of the blood royal did not disdain to possess them. The volumes were in many instances executed in a costly manner, and were usually written upon vellum by experienced scribes. This implies not merely the value which was set upon the word of God, but also that the scribes found a reward for their labors among the wealthier part of the community. The multiplication of copies must have been rapid. Nearly one hundred and fifty manuscripts, containing the whole or parts of Purvey's Bible, the majority of which were written within the space of forty years from its being finished, have been examined for the present edition. Others are known to have existed within the last century, and more, there can be no doubt, have escaped inquiry; how many have perished it is impossible to calculate. But when it is remembered that from the first the most active and powerful measures were taken to suppress the version, — that strict inquisition was made for the

writings and translations of Wycliffe, Hereford, Ashton, and Purvey, — that they were burnt and destroyed as most noxious and pernicious productions of heretical depravity, — and that all who were known to possess them were exposed to severe persecution; and then, if there be taken into account the number of manuscripts which in the course of four or five centuries have been destroyed through accident or negligence, it is not too much to suppose that we have now but a small portion of those which were originally written." — *Preface*, pp. xxxii., xxxiii.

Considering the time when Wycliffe lived, and the circumstances under which he made his version of the Bible, this work alone would entitle him to be regarded as a very remarkable man, and a great benefactor of his race. But besides the Bible which he translated, his writings, if printed, would make four or five folio volumes.* Bishop Bale, about the middle of the sixteenth century, asserted that, notwithstanding a large number of Wycliffe's writings had been burnt, he then had the titles of a hundred and forty-four of his works, and he knew there were more, for some of them under one title comprehended two books, some three, some four; and one of them, at least, to his knowledge, contained twelve. The good old Bishop could not restrain his honest indignation at the neglect to which the Reformer and his writings have been subjected. "I think not the contrary but ere the world be at a full end, God will so glorify that twenty times condemned heretic, execrated, cursed, spitted and spatted at, that all your Popish writers before his time and after will be reckoned but vile swineherds to him for the good favor he bare to Christ's holy Gospel." † Nor was it by his writings alone that Wycliffe sought to reform the corrupt Church of Rome. His life was an active and eventful one; and his opportunities for exerting a mighty influence on a large number of his countrymen were very great and were well improved. From the pulpit of his parish church he preached the Gospel with plainness and power. From the chair of the Professor of Divinity at Oxford he lectured to thousands of young and inquiring students, and taught them to reverence and obey the teachings of Jesus and the

* Lewis, *Life of Wycliffe*, ed. 1820, p. 179.
† *Select Works of Bishop Bale*, ed. 1849, p. 140.

Apostles, as recorded in the Bible, more than the doctrines and decrees of popes and councils. He was chaplain to the king, and gained converts to his views from the royal household. By his own exertions and the aid of the numerous itinerating priests, whom he educated and sent about the country to preach his doctrines, he was so successful in spreading his sentiments, that, according to Knighton, a contemporary historian, every second man in the kingdom had become a convert.

It would seem ungracious in us to complain of the editors of Wycliffe's Bible for not giving, as an introduction to that work, a full and authentic memoir of the author's life. The Christian world owe a great debt of gratitude to these learned and indefatigable scholars for what they have actually accomplished. It was a long and laborious work to collate the various manuscripts, and carry through the press a publication of this magnitude. They assure us that they have spared no pains to render these volumes complete. A considerable portion of their time during twenty-two years has been spent in accomplishing their task. Of course they must be much interested in the life of Wycliffe, and they are, no doubt, abundantly qualified by their investigations to write a better biography of him than any that has hitherto appeared. We hope they may yet find time and inclination to prepare such a work. The reader naturally wishes to see, in connection with this important version of the Bible, something more concerning the author of it than the very imperfect account that is contained in a note to the Preface.

In the year 1324, or about that time, according to the conjectures of all his biographers, Wycliffe was born, in the parish bearing the same name,* in Yorkshire, England. Nothing is known of his childhood or early youth. In the year 1340, at the age of sixteen years, he was admitted as a student at Queen's College, Oxford, which was then just founded. He was soon transferred from this to Merton College of the same University, which, from having been longer established, possessed superior advantages, and at that time could boast

* The name is spelt in nearly twenty different ways. We have followed the editors of the Bible in this matter. Lewis, Baber, and Le Bas spell it Wiclif.

of having connected with it some of the most learned men of the age. The college students at that period devoted most of their time to the study of scholastic theology and civil law. The works of Aristotle were held in the highest esteem, and regarded as the great avenue to all knowledge. The logic and metaphysics of this master were studied by the aid of Latin interpreters, as the Greek language was then almost entirely neglected in England. Wycliffe took high rank as a scholar. Even the Roman Catholic historians confess that he was a subtile disputant, and second to none in philosophy. He did not, however, confine himself to the prescribed studies. He carefully read the writings of the fathers, and became an admirer and disciple of St. Augustine. Although the Sacred Scriptures were then almost entirely neglected by the ecclesiastics, Wycliffe devoted much time to their study.

In the year 1356 there appeared a tract entitled "The Last Age of the Church." This has generally been ascribed to Wycliffe, and is considered his first production. As the authorship is doubtful, and the tract itself unimportant, we pass it over without more particular notice.*

About the year 1360 Wycliffe appears as a bold and successful assertor of the rights of the University against the Mendicant Friars, who had become so numerous and powerful at Oxford as almost to threaten the entire ruin of the University. They had by flattering but false pretences induced a large number of the young students who resorted to Oxford to be educated to leave the University for the monastery; and so powerful had been their influence that, it is said, the number of students was reduced from thirty thousand to six thousand. In testimony of their gratitude for his services, and in compliment to his talents, the University made him, in 1361, Master of Baliol College, and presented him to the living of Fillingham, which he afterwards exchanged for that of Ludgershall.

Four years after, in 1365, he was appointed Warden of Canterbury Hall in Oxford by Archbishop Islip, its

* This little tract was elegantly printed in black letter, at Dublin, 1840, edited, with notes, by Rev J. H. Todd, D. D.

founder. The diploma conferring this honor declares Wycliffe to be "a person in whom his Grace very much confided, and on whom he had fixed his eyes for that place on account of the honesty of his life, his laudable conversation, and knowledge of letters." Islip died the next year, and Bishop Langham was raised to the See of Canterbury. He was a monk, and was strongly attached to the religious orders which Wycliffe had so boldly censured. His dislike to the Reformer was so great, that he deprived him of the office which the founder of the college had conferred upon him. An appeal was made to the court of Rome; but, after a delay of four years, the Pope confirmed the action of the Archbishop. This decision may have been influenced somewhat by the part which Wycliffe had taken in a controversy between the Pope and King Edward the Third. He had powerfully defended the rights of England against the arrogant demands of Rome.

In 1372 Wycliffe was appointed, by the Chancellor and Regents of the University, Professor of Divinity. This was the greatest honor which they could offer him, and it shows conclusively the high estimation in which he was then held by the learned authorities of that ancient and renowned institution.

The new professor was soon called from the legitimate duties of his office again to take part in the controversy, which had been renewed, between the court of Rome and the English sovereign. The Pope had demanded the annual payment of one thousand marks as tribute money, and as an acknowledgment that the sovereignty of England was under the authority of the successor of St. Peter. Edward the Third had for several years declined making these payments. A demand was now urged that all arrearages should be paid, and the specified sum be annually transmitted. In case of refusal, it was threatened that his Majesty would be cited to appear and answer for such neglect in the court of the Sovereign Pontiff, who, it was said, had become his civil no less than his religious superior. The king submitted the question to the decision of Parliament, and it was resolved that the claim should be resisted by force if necessary. Wycliffe wrote with great ability on the subject, maintaining the rights of England against the

demands of Rome. Another matter in dispute between these two powers related to the bestowment of certain benefices in England. The king found it necessary or expedient, in 1374, to send an embassy to the Pope to treat concerning the liberties of the Church in England; and Wycliffe, who was at that time one of the royal chaplains, was appointed, in connection with the Bishop of Bangor and others, for that purpose. The negotiations were conducted at Bruges, and required the absence of Wycliffe from England for about two years. But little practical benefit resulted from the negotiations; but our Reformer had a good opportunity, whilst engaged in this embassy, to study the policy of the Pontiff. He returned to England more thoroughly convinced than before of the gross corruption of the Church of Rome. Whilst absent on his mission he received several marks of the royal favor, the most important of which was the presentation to the rectory of Lutterworth, a living which he retained till his death. On his return from the Continent, his time was divided between the duties of pastor and those of professor. His zeal in exposing the errors and vices of the corrupt Church of Rome was now considerably increased, and his opportunities for disseminating his views were very great.

At Oxford he lectured with such ability and power, that "almost every thing he said was regarded as an oracle," * and he was "by the common sort of divines esteemed little less than a god." † Even Knighton, his bitter enemy, was obliged to acknowledge his great learning and talents, and to declare that "he was the most eminent doctor in those days." As a preacher and pastor in his parish at Lutterworth, he was as faithful and earnest as in his duties at the University. He preached not only on Sundays, but also on the several festivals of the Church. A portion of each day was devoted to visiting the sick and relieving the wants of the destitute. There is good reason to suppose that he was the model from which his friend and follower, Geoffrey Chaucer, depicted the character of The Good Parson.

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* Lewis, *History of Translations*, etc., p. 17.
† Lewis, *Life of Wycliffe*, p. 2.

"A better preest I trowe that nowher non is.
He waited after no pomp ne reverence.
He maked him no spiced conscience.
But Cristes lore, and his apostles twelve
He taught, but first he followed it himselve." *

Wycliffe's doctrines gave much offence to the apologists of the Romish Church, especially the clergy. He was summoned to appear before a convocation which met at St. Paul's Cathedral in London, in February, 1377, to answer for his heresies. On the day appointed for his appearance he went attended by the Duke of Lancaster and Lord Percey, two personages of high authority at that time, who were determined that no harm should befall him. An angry altercation arose between them and the Bishop of London, and the assembly broke up without taking any further notice of the Reformer and his alleged errors.

The discomfited and enraged ecclesiastics were not willing to let the matter rest here. Complaints were made to the Pope against Wycliffe as a dangerous heretic, and the Pontiff issued his mandate in May, 1377, that he should be arrested and kept in safety till further orders from his Holiness. Bulls to this effect were sent to the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London. A special messenger was despatched to the University of Oxford, with an order that they should give up their professor of divinity. The king received a letter from the Pope requesting him to lend his assistance in the prosecution. These bulls, although all bearing date in May, 1377, were for some cause detained till November. When they were received, it was with very different feelings by the different parties to whom they were addressed. The Bishops, who were probably the instigators of the proceedings, acted with alacrity in the matter. But the University was so indignant, that at first it was debated whether the messenger should be received, or dismissed with disgrace. Wycliffe, however, concluded to appear before his accusers and answer them face to face. In January, 1378, he attended the synod which had assembled for the purpose at Lambeth, and handed in a paper containing a statement and explanation of his opinions. What course the synod

* Prologue to the *Canterbury Tales*, lines 526 – 531.

would have taken to silence the Reformer, had they been allowed to proceed without interruption, is uncertain. Whilst they were deliberating on the subject Sir Lewis Clifford entered the hall, and in the name of the queen mother forbade their proceeding to any sentence against him. He was accordingly dismissed with a simple command that in future he should refrain from preaching such doctrines; a command which he felt at liberty to disobey.

The doctrines of Wycliffe which were deemed heretical, and condemned by the Roman Catholic Church at different times, were very numerous, but none probably gave greater offence than the following: —

1st. "That the Church of Rome is not the head of all churches more than any other church."

2d. "That all the Gospel is a rule sufficient of itself to rule the life of every Christian man here without any other rule."

3d. "That the holy Eucharist after the consecration is not the very body of Christ, but figuratively." *

The next year, 1379, whilst Wycliffe was at Oxford, he was seized with a violent disease, which it was supposed would soon bring him to the grave. Some of the Mendicants took this opportunity to call on him, and urge him to take back his censures on their order. Although very weak at the time, he directed his attendants to raise him on his pillows, and then, fixing his eyes upon his visitors, he said with a firm voice, "*I shall not die, but live to declare still further the evil deeds of the Friars.*" To their sorrow, his words proved true.

It was about this time that he was engaged in translating the Bible. His writings abound with sound Protestant views on the supreme authority of the Scriptures as a guide in all matters of faith and practice. When he began to preach and lecture against the doctrine of Transubstantiation, he lost the friendship and support of his best friend and most powerful patron, the Duke of Lancaster; but this did not cause him to waver in his course. Soon, however, the authorities of the University felt obliged, by the clamor of the clergy, to attempt to silence him. He offered publicly to discuss the doctrine

* Fox, *Acts and Monuments*, Vol. I. p. 491, ed. 1684.

with the Chancellor of the University, but this was declined. The enemies of Wycliffe took advantage of some disturbances which they unjustly charged to his doctrines, to cause him, in 1382, to be banished from the University. He retired to his living at Lutterworth, where he died on the 31st day of December, 1384.

"Admirable," says that quaint writer, Thomas Fuller, "that a hare, so often hunted with so many packs of dogs, should die at last, quietly sitting in his form." * But his remains were not suffered to rest in peace. Nearly half a century after his death, his bones were, by order of the Council of Constance, dug up and burnt, and the ashes thrown into the Swift, a brook running hard by. "Thus this brook hath conveyed his ashes into Avon, Avon into Severn, Severn into the narrow seas, they into the main ocean. And thus the ashes of Wycliffe are the emblems of his doctrine, which now is dispersed all the world over." †

It is much to be regretted that the accounts of Wycliffe's life and works are still so meagre and unsatisfactory. More is known of the results of his efforts than of the particular methods by which they were produced. We have, however, sufficient testimony concerning him to justify the assertion, that to his agency, more than to any other human source, does the Protestant world owe its redemption from the thraldom of Papal power under which it was for centuries held. Much had been done before Luther's time to make the field ready for the reaper. He put in his sickle and gathered a rich harvest. But it was Wycliffe who had sown the seed, and his followers who had cultivated the tender plant. Luther lived at a time when there were causes at work which would inevitably have led to a "Reformation," even without his efforts; for the Christian world had been for a century and a half preparing for such a crisis. One of the most cautious and scrupulously correct of the English historians remarks:—

"No revolution has ever been more gradually prepared than that which separated almost one half of Europe from the communion of the Roman See; nor were Luther and Zuingle any more than occasional instruments of that change, which, had they

* *Church History*, Vol. I. Book IV. § 26. † *Ibid.*, Book IV. § 53.

never existed, would at no great distance of time have been effected by some other reformers. . . . . Almost a hundred and fifty years before Luther, nearly the same doctrines as he taught had been maintained by Wycliffe, whose disciples, usually called Lollards, lasted as a numerous, though obscure and proscribed sect, till, aided by the confluence of foreign streams, they swelled into the Protestant Church of England." *

One very great advantage which the German Reformer possessed over his English predecessor consisted in the aid afforded by the art of printing. This powerful auxiliary to the spread of the truth had been in operation for more than half a century when Luther began his career, and several hundred large editions of the Bible had been printed and circulated before he prepared his version. But Wycliffe had not only to translate the Bible for his followers, but to cause copies of it to be multiplied by the careful and patient industry of well-trained scribes. It was by appeals to the Bible that both Wycliffe and Luther accomplished so much.

Wycliffe has been peculiarly unfortunate in his biographers. Neither a Roman Catholic nor an English Churchman would be likely to give an entirely unbiased estimate of the various excellences of his character. The former would regard him as a heretic of the worst kind, because he did not acknowledge the infallibility of the Pope, and the purity of the Church of Rome. The other would consider him a rash and too radical reformer, because he did not stop where the Episcopal Church did, — about half-way between the corruptions of Rome and the pure simplicity of primitive Christianity.

It should be borne in mind that the contemporary historians, and indeed almost all the writers for more than a century after the time of Wycliffe, were known to entertain towards the Reformer the most bitter prejudice and undisguised hostility. Holinshed, the old English chronicler of the time of Queen Elizabeth, says, that so odious was his name to the Popish clergy that "in recording his opinions they exceed the bounds of all modestie, aggravating such reports as they infer concerning him or his, with more than hyperbolicall lies." It cannot be doubted

* Hallam's *Constitutional History of England*, Vol. I. p. 56, London edition, 1842.

by any one who reads the account of Walsingham, a monk who wrote soon after Wycliffe's death, that he speaks "maliciouslie and viporouslie and giveth unreverent epithets," for in one sentence he calls Wycliffe "the Devil's instrument, church's enemy, people's confusion, heretick's idol, hypocrite's mirror, schism's broacher, hatred's sower, lie's forger, flatterie's sink; who at his death despaired like Cain, and stricken by the horrible judgements of God breathed forth his wicked soul to the dark mansion of the black Devil!"* Such has been the tone of Roman Catholic writers from that time till now, with few exceptions. Bossuet represents the religion of the great Reformer as "worse than atheism." † A late writer, whose works are held in high esteem by Roman Catholics, St. Alphonsus M. Liguori, closes his misrepresentations of Wycliffe with the following bitter abuse: —"He was struck down by a dreadful palsy which convulsed him all over, and his mouth, with which he had preached so many blasphemies, was most frightfully distorted, so that he could not speak even a word; and, as Walsingham informs us, he died in despair." ‡

But the abuse of the Catholics has been harmless in comparison with the remarks of a class of English writers who own no allegiance to the Papal power, and profess to have no sympathy with the doctrines and discipline of the Romish Church. The historian Hume closes his notice of Wycliffe with a sneer. Anthony à Wood, in his "Athenæ Oxonienses," gives place to the slanderous remarks of Dr. Fell, who called the Reformer "a grand dissembler" and "a man of little conscience." Dean Milner devotes several pages in his Ecclesiastical History to an attempt to prove that the services of Wycliffe have been greatly overrated. Even his latest English biographer, Professor Le Bas, § who evidently admires the character of Wycliffe, and even styles him "a very extraordinary man," rejoices that he did not live at the

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* Walsingham, *Ypodig. Neus.*, p. 322. Quoted in Fuller's *Church History*, Book IV. § 57.

† *Variations of the Protestant Church*, Dublin, 1836, Vol. II. p. 135.

‡ *History of Heresies.* Translated from the Italian, by Rev. J. T. Mulloch. Dublin. 1847. Vol. I. p. 281.

§ His work is republished as the first volume of the Theological Library, by the Messrs. Harpers, New York, 1832.

time of the English Reformation! He would undoubtedly have proved a troublesome person to those *Reformers* who desired but little more than to transfer all the power, and many of the doctrines, of the Papists from the Roman Catholic to the English Church. One or two extracts from this biography will probably show plainly enough why Wycliffe has not been placed by such writers higher in the ranks of the Reformers.

"Whether he would have altogether discarded the Episcopal order, had he been allowed to carry into effect his own principles of reformation,—or whether he would have retained it as a convenient and useful appointment,—it is impossible to pronounce with any certainty. But it seems perfectly clear, that he did not consider it as at all essential to the legitimate constitution of a Christian Church. It is deeply to be deplored that his powerful and independent mind, while it was rending in pieces the cords of superstition, should have tamely surrendered itself to the captivity of this miserable prejudice. 'Had it pleased him not to hoodwink his own knowledge,' he must have seen, clearly enough, how to dispose of his own objections. A divine like him can, surely, never have been ignorant that, from the time of the Apostles to the days in which he lived, no other form of government but the Episcopal had ever been known to the Christian Church; and he might have learned from his master, St. Augustine, that Aërius, the first person who ever thought of confounding bishops and presbyters, was judged to be a heretic for that opinion. And yet we actually find him asserting, that, by the institution of Christ, priests and bishops were all one," &c.—p. 299.

We know that St. Paul once confessed, "that after the way which *they call heresy*, so worship I the God of my fathers." But we do not suppose that the author intended to place him in the same category with Aërius, though the Apostle appears to have made the same *mistake* with that distinguished heretic and Wycliffe in confounding presbyters and bishops. In the twentieth chapter of Acts, at the seventeenth verse, we find that Paul sends for the πρεσβύτεροι, i. e. the *presbyters* or elders of the Church, and presently (twenty-eighth verse) we find him exhorting them to take heed to all the flock over which the Holy Ghost had made them ἐπίσκοποι, i. e. *bishops* or overseers. But this by the way;—our purpose was not to correct the errors of Wycliffe's biographers, but to show the cause why he has not been more highly es-

teemed by English Churchmen. One more extract from Professor Le Bas's work will be quite sufficient for this purpose.

"As the fearless assailant of abuse, nothing could well be more noble than his attitude and bearing. But, had he succeeded in shaking the established system to pieces, one can scarcely think, without some awful misgivings, of the fabric which, under his hand, might have risen out of the ruins. If the reformation of our Church had been conducted by Wiclif, his work, in all probability, would nearly have anticipated the labors of Calvin; and the Protestantism of England might have pretty closely resembled the Protestantism of Geneva. Episcopal government might then have been discarded; ecclesiastical endowments and foundations might have been, for the most part, sacrificed; the clergy consigned to a degrading dependence on their flocks; the worship of God, if not wholly stripped of its ritual solemnity, yet deprived of the aids of instrumental harmony; and, lastly, the fatalism which lurked in the scholastic writings of the Reformer might then, possibly, have raised up its head, and boldly demanded a place in the Confession of the National Church! Had Wiclif flourished in the sixteenth century, it can hardly be imagined that he would have been found under the banners of Cranmer and of Ridley. Their caution, their patience, their moderation, would scarcely have been intelligible to him; and rather than conform to it, he might, perhaps, have been ready, if needful, *to perish, in the gainsaying* of such men as Knox or Cartwright. At all events, it must plainly be confessed, that there is a marvellous resemblance between the Reformer, with his poor itinerant priests, and at least the better part of the Puritans, who troubled our Israel in the days of Elizabeth and her successors. The likeness is sufficiently striking, almost to mark him out as their prototype and progenitor; and therefore it is, that every faithful son of the Church of England must rejoice with trembling, that the work of her final deliverance was not consigned to him." — pp. 324, 325.

We believe it was John Fox, the Martyrologist, who, in Queen Elizabeth's time, first applied to Wycliffe the appellation of "the Morning Star of the Reformation." This quaint old writer loved the Reformer because he had battled bravely against the Pope and the Roman Catholics. But he had no just appreciation of the true excellence of Wycliffe's character. We find no account, in his ponderous folios, of the translation of the Bible. Indeed, this work, which was the chief and crowning

glory of Wycliffe's career, and the lever by which the Papal power in Great Britain was overthrown, receives hardly a passing notice from Fox.

A Life of Wycliffe was prepared by the Rev. John Lewis, and published in the early part of the last century. It was republished at Oxford in 1820, and is valuable chiefly as containing a collection of materials for a biography; but it has few attractions, in its present form, for the general reader. The most elaborate work of the kind is that entitled "The Life and Opinions of John de Wycliffe," &c., &c., &c., by Robert Vaughan (2 vols., 8vo, London, 1828). This has passed to a second edition, and it contains much valuable information, drawn, principally, from the manuscript works of Wycliffe. But in the copious extracts from these the language has been so much modernized, that the reader cannot feel sure that he is ever in possession of the true idea of the Reformer.

Professor le Bas, from whose book we have already quoted, derives his information mainly from the work just noticed. He gives us, in a smaller compass, but in a more ambitious style, the principal results of Mr. Vaughan's investigations.*

"The Wycliffe Society" was formed in London a few years since, for the purpose of publishing his works. We believe the plan has not been attended with much success.

When a memoir worthy of the subject is published, it will be found that no brighter name adorns the ecclesiastical annals of Great Britain, or indeed of Protestant Christendom, than that of John Wycliffe. We regard it as among the important incidental consequences which are likely to follow the publication of this Bible, that attention will thereby be directed to his life and labors.

* "Wycliffe and his Times, by Enoch Pond, Professor in the Theological Seminary, Bangor, Me.," is the title of a little volume of about two hundred pages, published by the American Sunday School Union (Philadelphia, 1841). It gives a fair account of his life and opinions. Although written particularly for the youth of this country, it is worthy the attention of older readers, if they cannot obtain the more elaborate and costly works of Wycliffe's English biographers. A similar work was published in 1840, at Columbus, Ohio, written by Mrs. Margaret Coxe. In a volume of great merit, entitled "Passages from the History of Liberty," by Samuel Eliot, (Boston, 1847,) there is an admirable article on Wycliffe. We believe these are the most important accounts of the great Reformer which have been prepared in this country.

We are confident that a thorough and impartial examination of his claims will result in a complete vindication of his title to be regarded as the primary and most important agent in producing the Protestant Reformation. We know that Luther and his immediate coadjutors now occupy this position by the common consent of Protestant Christians. Their praises have been spoken in the loudest tones by thousands of voices from various sects and parties. But more than a century before the German Reformer was born, Wycliffe — quite as extraordinary a man as Luther — had planted the seeds of the Reformation, and with great boldness and perseverance had promulgated those principles which were to shake the Romish Church to its centre. Wycliffe was the pioneer and patriarch of Protestantism, and his name should have the highest place on the roll of its honored heroes.

G. L.

Art. IV. — EUPHRANOR.*

This is a very thin volume. No publisher but William Pickering, London, could have raised it to the dignity of a volume. It does not contain much, and it does not in any way amount to much. And yet it has given us pleasure, by its classical air, its healthy tone, and a pervading spirit of genial wisdom. It is very much in the vein of the "Friends in Council," and may have proceeded from the same pen. It opens as follows: —

"During the time of my pretending to practise medicine at Cambridge, I was aroused one fine forenoon of May, by the sound of some one running up my staircase, three or four steps at a time; then, directly, a small rapping at the door; and before I could say, 'Come in!' Euphranor had opened it, and, coming up to me, seized my arm with his usual eagerness, and told me I must go out with him, — 'it was such a day, — sun shining, — breeze blowing, — hedges and trees all in leaf. He had been to Chesterton (he said), and had rowed back with a man who had now left him in the lurch; and I must take his place.' I told him what

* *Euphranor, a Dialogue on Youth.* London: William Pickering. 1851. 12mo. pp. 81.

a poor hand at the oar I was, and such walnut-shells as these Cambridge boats were, I was sure a strong fellow like him must rejoice in getting a whole right-oar to himself once in a way. He laughed, and said, 'The pace, the pace,' was the thing. However, that was all nothing, but — in short, I must go out with him, whether to row, or to walk in the fields, or a game of billiards at Chesterton, whatever I liked, only go I must. After a little more banter about my possible patients, I got up, closed a very heavy treatise on Magnesia I was reading, put on coat and hat, and in three minutes we had run down stairs, out into the open air; where both of us calling out together what a glorious day it was, we struck out briskly for the old wooden bridge, where Euphranor said he had left his boat.

"'By the bye,' said I, as we went along, 'it would be a charity to knock up poor Lexilogus, and carry him with us.'

"Not so much of a charity, Euphranor thought, — Lexilogus would so much rather be left with his books. But I declared that was the very reason he ought to be drawn abroad. . . . . So without more ado, we turned into Trinity great gate, and round by the right up a staircase to the attic in which Lexilogus kept."

The three are soon upon the river, and there, and afterwards in an arbor of the Chesterton Bowling-green, they have much easy but sage talk. Two or three friends join them in the course of the day. Euphranor produces a book, Digby on Chivalry. He reads: —

"'The error that leads men to doubt of this first proposition,' — that is, you know, that chivalry is not a thing past, but, like all things of beauty, eternal, — 'the error that leads men to doubt of this first proposition consists in their supposing that tournaments, steel panoply, and coat arms, and aristocratic institutions, are essential to chivalry; whereas, these are, in fact, only accidental attendants upon it, subject to the influence of time, which changes all such things.' . . . . . Chivalry is only a name for that general spirit or state of mind which disposes men to generous and heroic actions; and keeps them conversant with all that is beautiful and sublime in the intellectual and moral world. It will be found that, in the absence of conservative principles, this spirit more generally prevails in youth than in the later period of men's life; and as the heroic is always the earliest age in the history of nations, so youth, the finest period of life, may be considered the heroic or chivalrous age of each separate man; and there are few so unhappy as to have grown up without having experienced its influence, and having derived the advantage of being able to enrich their imagination, and to soothe their hours of sorrow, with its roman-

tic recollections. . . . . Every boy and youth is, in his mind and sentiment, a knight, and essentially a son of chivalry. Nature is fine in him. Nothing but the circumstances of a singular and most degrading system of education can ever totally destroy the action of this general law; therefore, so long as there has been, or shall be, young men to grow up to maturity; and until all youthful life shall be dead, and its source withered up for ever; so long must there have been, and must there continue to be, the spirit of noble chivalry."

Then follows much discourse, now light and now learned, among the friends, on education; and that is the burden of the book. They conclude to take a child from his birth, and carry him along, in theory, up to manhood; of course, upon the principles of true chivalry; he must be a genuine knight; his name is Sir Lancelot. The doctor, as having to usher him into the world, and to bestow a professional superintendence upon him for a while, undertakes to guide him through his first septenniad, with occasional hints from Euphranor. We shall extract some passages from their conversation; because we think they furnish about as good a treatment of the subject of early education as we should be likely to obtain at first hand from any of our contributors; — hints that may be profitably considered by those of us who have young knights to train and see to.

"'By and by, too, he is drawn up from the visible love and authority of parents and nurses, to the idea of a Father unseen, — the Father of his father, Father of all, Maker of all, who, though we do not see him, sees us, and all we do, and even all we think; who has bid us obey, love, and honor our parents, tell the truth, keep our hands from picking and stealing, and who will one day reward or punish us according as we have done all this.'

"'Halloa, doctor,' said Euphranor, smiling, 'you have brought on your child at a fine rate, far faster than I should have dared; instilling religion when you were pretending to give him a dose.'

"'Not I,' I answered, 'nor Mr. or Miss Skythrops either. Mamma and nurse have done it imperceptibly. It is through the mother's eyes. Fellenberg finely said, that heaven first beams upon a child. But, as you say, "ne sutor ultra." I return to my soothing syrups.'

"But Euphranor declared that, having once begun, I must go on, carrying Sir Lancelot's mind along with his body; especially

since I had given out that any mismanagement of the mind would injure the body I was employed to protect. So I agreed to look after the young knight so long as he was in the women's apartments, which was, according to Xenophon, (was it not?) for the first seven years of his life. . . . . 'Well, then,' I went on, 'I will give the women one general rule; that, for those first seven years, Sir Lancelot shall only be put to do what he can *easily*, without effort either of mind or body. He shall only meddle with what Plato calls the *music of education*, — does he?'

"'Part of it, at least, I dare say,' Euphranor answered, smiling. And I went on to say, that, luckily, for the first year of life, the bodily and mental music went together. Nurse finding nonsense songs the best accompaniment to dandling Sir Lancelot in her arms, or rocking him to sleep in the cradle, and that from the lyrical fragment of 'Little Bo-peep,' the progress was easy to the more dramatic and intellectual Death of Cock Robin, and after that to stories in numerous verse and prose about certain good dogs and cats, and little boys and girls, and even little hymns, by sweet Jane Taylor, and Watts, about the star, and the daisy, and Him who made them; all which, besides exercising speech and memory, sometimes under cover of fable, sometimes in pure, plain-spoken affection, dispose the mind towards the Good, the Beautiful, and the Holy. 'Then you know,' said I, 'there are pictures, — "that is the horse," — "that is the cat," — which easily lead to "A was an Apple," — the alphabet itself, — Newton's true Principia, after all, as Vincent Bourne said.'"

Really, is not this about enough of literature and schooling for the first six years of life? We question the wisdom and the humanity of the practice which prevails in this community, of confining a child in a school-room six hours a day, from three or four years old upwards, crippling his limbs, paling his face, and stultifying his mind with endless tasks in Improved Spelling-books, Parley Geographies, and Colburn's or Emerson's First Parts. It may be accepted as the least of two evils in cases where poverty or other untoward circumstances deny the means of looking after the child and averting ennui, fretfulness, and evil communications, and of providing appropriate and safe plays and employments. But on no other grounds can it be justified. It is not of the slightest consequence whether a child knows even the alphabet or not at the close of his sixth year. He had better not know any thing more of books, letters, or numbers than he can pick up easily and incidentally,

without drudging his mind or restraining his out-door freedom. But we interrupt our worthy doctor. We will let him resume, though he may utter a sentiment or two that we cannot approve.

"'Well, then, there he is, instituted in letters,' said Euphranor. 'But what have you been doing for his bodily exercises all the while?'

"'Ah, there I am more in my element,' I returned, 'and mamma and nurse want quite as much looking after in this as in the other matter. They are too apt in the pride of their hearts to make Sir Lancelot walk before he can stand; and when he *can* use his legs, will not give him verge enough to ply his legs in.'

"'What is to be done for him?'

"'O, after the due dandling and rocking of first infancy, give him a clear stage to roll in: he will find his own legs when they are strong enough to bear him. Then let him romp as much as he likes; and roar too,—a great part of children's fun, and of great service to the lungs. And that (beside fresh air) is so great an advantage in sending children to play out of doors, they don't disturb the serious and nervous elders of the house, who ruin the health and spirits of thousands, by, "Be quiet, child,—Don't make such a noise, child," et cætera.'

"'Ah, I remember,' said Euphranor, 'how you used to play at hide-and-seek with us in the shrubbery, rather exciting us to rebellion, when my aunt ran out to warn us, or reduce us to order.'

"'Or for fear your dresses should be dirtied,' rejoined I, 'for that is one of the fetters laid upon children's wholesome growth. They must early learn to look *respectable;* as also shouting is vulgar, you know. Then what screaming from the window if a little dew lay on the grass, or a summer cloud overcame the sky.'

"'I suppose you would have shoes with holes in them on purpose to let in water, as Locke does,' said Euphranor, laughing.

"'I would not keep a child from exercise in the dirt, because he has no whole shoes at home, at all events,' answered I.

"'He catches cold.'

"'I dose him instantly and effectually.'

"'But he dies.'

"'Then, as a sensible woman said, "he is provided for." Your own Plato, I think, says it is best the sickly and delicate should die off early at once.'

"'Rather a pagan doctrine, if he does,' replied Euphranor. 'However, we will suppose Sir Lancelot survives,—what else?'

"'Where did we leave him?' said I. 'O, yes,—I remember,—in the mud,—where, by the bye, (much better than if shut up

in a school-room or parlor,) he makes acquaintance with external nature, sun, moon, stars, trees, flowers, stones, so wholesome in themselves, and the rudiments of so many *ologies* for hereafter.'

"'Not forgetting animals,' said Euphranor.

"'By no means,' said I, 'and especially the horse and the dog, whose virtues we said he would do well to share.'"

The use of animals in the training of children has not been duly considered, so far as we know, by writers on education. Hostlers and other *habitués* of the stables are not usually regarded as the most eligible companions for children. But taking all practicable care on this point, there is some sense in our Doctor's views of the subject. We will let him proceed.

"'Horses and dogs, in the women's apartments!' said Euphranor, laughing.

"'O, yes,' I said, 'his acquaintance with the dog begins in the cradle: and the horse, who, as we said, has given his very name (*chivalry*) to the spirit of Youth, Devotion, and Courage we began talking about, — Sir Lancelot cannot too soon make his acquaintance, — to pat him, — to feed him, — to be set upon his back, either in the stable, or during exercise up and down the avenue.'

"'And it is wonderful,' Euphranor observed, 'what forbearance the nobler animals show for children; how great dogs suffer themselves to be pulled about for hours by them: and horses will carry boys with a kind of proud docility, who would kick and plunge under a grown-up rider. Perhaps they like children's soft voices and light weights; for which very reason, I have heard, they are more manageable by women.'

"'Yes,' said I, 'and have they not also a sense of humor that is amused at being bestrid by urchins; ay, and real generosity too, that will not take advantage of weakness?'"

Our author's system appears rather heathenish so far. Will he not make a wild savage of his little knight? His plan is fearfully liberal, we confess. But he means right, and intends to assign an ample place to the *moral* element, if we will hear him through.

"After a little pause, Euphranor said, 'When you lay it down that children are scarcely to be compelled against the grain for their first seven years, I suppose you make some reservation as to *moral* restraint, — the repression of passion, for instance.'

"'Not only that,' answered I, 'he must also learn to submit himself to order — to *some* daily in-door restraint — silence — and

task-work — all when he would be out of doors romping: only let there be but *a little* of such compulsion day by day.'

"'And if he be refractory, even against this gentle discipline?'

"'Then if the withdrawal of confidence and love, and appealing to his faculty of shame and remorse, are not enough, a taste of the rod, the compendious symbol of might and right. Only I am quite sure, as a general rule, it is better to lean to the extreme of indulgence than of severity: you at least get at *truth*, if ugly truth, by letting a child display his character without fear; and faults that determine outwardly are far more likely to evaporate than when repressed to rankle within. Any how, the ugliest truth is better than the handsomest falsehood.'"

The first septenniad being completed, the question is, With what result? We will give the summing up as we find it, though we fear it will not be quite satisfactory to all parents and guardians of young knights and infant phenomena.

"'And what sort of chap do you find him?' said I.

"'Nay, he is your child,' answered Euphranor.

"'The very reason,' said I, 'why I should be glad of a neighbor's candid opinion about him. However, I am not his father, but only his doctor; and, moreover, I will not say what he *is*, but only that I shall be content if he be a jolly little fellow, with rosy cheeks, and a clear eye, with just a little mischief in it at times: passionate, perhaps, and (even with his sisters) apt to try right by might; but generous, easily pacified, easily repentant, and ready to confess his faults: rather rebellious against women's domination, and against all the wraps and gruels they force upon him; but fond of mother, and of good old nurse; glad to begin and end each day with a prayer and a little hymn at their knees. Decidedly fonder of play than of books; rather too fond, it is supposed, of the stable, and of Will and Tom there; but submitting, after a little contest, to learn a little day by day from books which lead his mind towards hope, affection, generosity, and piety.'"

And now, at seven, the question is about giving up the boy to the care of Skythrops. Skythrops is the impersonation of all the traditional, time-honored, schoolmasterly qualities, the man who takes special charge of his pupils' morals, and is peculiarly energetic and successful with backward and depraved boys, such as Sir Lancelot, — makes them accumulate knowledge with astonishing rapidity, — "puts them right through, Sir," — "twelve hours a day in-door work at Grammar, Latin, Greek,

Modern Languages, Euclid, Geography, et cætera; and two hours' recreation and exercise, videlicet, a walk with Skythrops himself." The reader may recall the print, in Dombey and Son, of "Dr. Blimber's young gentlemen amusing themselves"! Our doctor objects strongly to "Skythropical tutors who will not leave their victims alone even during their scanty play-hours, but must pursue them with exhortations still, and soil even the fair page of nature with their running commentaries."

'"His scheme [Skythrops's] does not suit you?' said Euphranor.

"'And if it did,' I answered, '*he* would not suit me.'

"'There is magnetism in these things. Boys cannot learn of one who has nothing of the boy in him.'

"'Ah! I remember,' said Euphranor, 'how good Doctor Arnold insists on that'; and he quoted Arnold's beautiful image of the difference between drinking from a living spring and a stagnant pond. 'And, no doubt,' he continued, 'Skythrops's division of play and work pleases you as little as he himself does? — his twelve hours' work to two of recreation.'

"I answered, 'it only wanted reversing.'

"Euphranor looked incredulous; and I told him of a table I had lately seen made by a German physiologist, who, proposing to begin education at seven years old (and not a whit earlier) with but *one* hour's in-door study, keeps adding on an hour every year, so as, by fourteen years old, the boy studies eight hours out of the twenty-four.

"'Distinctions of age,' Euphranor remarked, 'which, ever so good, could not be made in schools.'

"'They *were* made, however, in one school,' I replied, — 'Fellenberg's, — the best school, on the whole, that I have read of.'

"'Ah, he agreed with you, I think,' said Euphranor, 'how much may be taught out of doors, and by wholesome experiment, in fresh air and exercise. Certainly a child may learn to love and obey parents, pastors, and masters, as well out-doors as in; nay, better, while owing to them the freedom and happiness he enjoys.'

"'And God, too,' said I, 'while enjoying his fields, streams, and breezes, quite as much as when listening to Skythrops concerning the origin of evil, in a stived-up room. For Skythrops hates fresh air and open windows, I am sure.'

"Euphranor laughed. 'And then,' said I, 'does not your Plato tell us that drills, marches, and other rhythmical out-of-door exercises, besides the good they do the body, unconscious-

ly instil a sense of order and harmonious obedience into the soul?'

"'And now, too,' Euphranor went on, 'we may suppose Sir Lancelot's acquaintance with nature, having begun in love, will go on to knowledge, in the way of some of those *ologies* you talked about.'

"'Not forgetting that most necessary geology, agriculture,' said I, 'eldest, healthiest, and most necessary of sciences; so loved and practised by the Roman gentlemen in the most heroic days of Rome.'"

We will omit all the doctor's talk about the true methods of book-learning. We prefer to listen to him in his more appropriate department of physical education, though he protests against separating this from the moral and intellectual. In what follows, we fear he will be judged unfeeling and reckless of human life. We shall not indorse all he says, but let it pass for what it is worth. Still, we must say, we think he is a humane and tender-hearted man, and does not mean to make light of parental affections and anxieties. We must make allowance for the humor that will creep into free conversation, and for the sprightly exaggerations that are not meant to deceive. But he speaks better for himself than we can for him, and on him rests the responsibility of his doctrine.

"'Well, so much for Sir Lancelot's *studies* in his second septenniad; and now for his bodily exercises; I suppose they advance proportionably in labor and energy.'

"'No doubt,' said I, 'the horse he was taken to look at, feed, and be held on, he now bestrides, — a pony at all events, — trots, gallops, gets a peep at the hounds throwing off; in due time a run with them, fleshes his maiden courage at a leap, rises up Antæus-like from a tumble.'

"'Ah,' said Euphranor, 'we poorer fellows are cut out of this.'

"'Well, there are the ditches and rivers for you to fall into, and be drowned in, whether in leaping, skating, swimming, or boating; nay, in this dear old England of ours, the sea itself ready to embrace and strangle the whole youth of Britain in her arms.'

"'Ah,' said Euphranor, 'there again, if mamma was frightened at her boy dabbling in the dew, without his hat, too, what will she say now he is brought home half drowned in a ditch, or his arm broken by a fall from his pony?'

"'I must console her as before,' said I; —

'"If he fall in, good night!
Send danger from the east unto the west,
So honor cross it from the north to south."

It is better to die well, even so young, than to grow up a valetudinarian and poltroon. He can only grow strong in body and soul by such exercises as carry danger along with them; and strong in body and soul our knight must be, must he not?'

"'Nay, but,' said Euphranor, 'I have not yet agreed that his soul can only grow strong by being in a strong body; and mamma will not agree that the body can only be made strong by dangerous exercises.'

"'All strong exercise is more or less dangerous,' I replied; 'in digging, rowing, running, we may sprain, strain, and rupture, if we do not break limbs. There is no end of finding out dangers if we look for them. Men have died of grape-stones sticking in the throat. Are we never to eat grapes again, or are they to be carefully picked of their stones first? And as for Courage, which is the strength of soul I speak of. . . . . .'

"'Mamma will say it is to be found in good books, good principles, religion, and so on,' said Euphranor.

"'And there may be found the long-concocted resolution, that, after all the struggles of natural fear, may nerve a man to be a martyr at last. But while it succeeds in one, it fails in a thousand. For here comes the ancient difference between *resolving* and *doing;* which latter is what we want. Nay, you know, the habit of resolving without acting (as we do necessarily in facing dangers and trials in books and in the closet) is worse for us than never resolving at all, inasmuch as it gradually snaps the natural connection between thought and deed.'

"'Ah,' said Euphranor, 'you stole that from the Newman I lent you, Doctor; how true and good it is!'

"'Very true, and very good,' answered I, 'and I dare say I stole it from him; though I had long before been familiar with an ancient proverb, (as old as the Fathers for any thing I know,) as to what Thought did as he lay in bed.'"

Considerable discourse follows, about the importance of having Sir Lancelot practised in swimming, sailing, rowing, boxing, fencing, riding; about only the strong being good-humored, and only the brave truly merciful; about presence of mind in danger, and readiness for emergencies in peace or war, and the way to acquire them and the *habit* of them. We quote only the final rejoinder of the doctor, who is evidently on the point of losing his temper a little.

"'I tell you, my lord Fool, out of this nettle *danger* we pluck

this flower *safety*.' . . . . . Only he trots safely who has galloped hard. . . . . Besides, what after all is the amount of danger in all the hunting, wrestling, boating, &c., that a boy goes through? Half a dozen boys are drowned, half a dozen shot instead of rabbits by their friends, half a dozen get broken arms or collar-bones by falls from ponies, in the course of the year; and for this little toll paid to death, how large a proportion of the gentry of this country are brought up manfully fitted for peace or war! If I have to do with Sir Lancelot, he shall take his chance, either to grow up a man fit to live, or to die honorably in striving towards it."

We confess to some sympathy with the real thought of our author, and even mamma must see that there is some touch of wisdom in it, though so roughly put. Sir Walter Scott somewhere says, that the principal things he was concerned to have his son learn were "to speak the truth, and ride on horseback"; meaning, that he wanted him to have a good conscience, a sound body, and the possession and prompt use of his faculties, — taking it for granted that the necessary intellectual training and cramming would be provided for in the routine of school and college. It has often seemed to us a pity that our young men in counting-rooms, in sedentary trades, and especially in high schools and colleges, with few calls to manual labor, are not provided with a more generous system of athletic exercises and manly sports, — with customs to lead to it, and arrangements to encourage it. The reason for this deficiency is a sadder thing than the fact itself. That reason is the prevailing tendency in our young men, lads even, to couple drunkenness and riot and various dissipation with whatever sports they engage in, in companies. Strong drink, that bane of the youthful body and soul, accompanies and actuates all such things, it is said, and prevents parents, guardians, and college rulers from affording facilities for them. Some think that a system and a custom of genial, earnest, invigorating out-door exercises would have the effect, in the long run, to weaken the morbid appetite for unwholesome stimulants, to brace up the languor of temperament from which that appetite arises, and to fortify the will against the pernicious indulgence. Others think, and this is, we suppose, the prevailing opinion in our large educational establishments, that our youth

must show less disposition to make their sports the occasions of dissipation, before they can be wisely encouraged or extended. Our author, plainly, has no doubts on the subject. He is too lax in his notions, but there is a grain of wisdom in them, and we will hear him a little further. He is speaking of schools. He likes large schools, in which "boys, being lumped together, get knocked out of family delusions, and get to know themselves, by comparing themselves with others." He hates small schools, as, he says, Dr. Arnold did. We trust there are few, if any, in this country, that answer to his description.

"'As to the smaller schools,' my dear Euphranor, 'you cannot imagine the pusillanimous, sordid, soul-and-body-stunting method of some of these, which, if English good sense did not explode just before it is too late, (as English good sense has somehow a knack of doing,) would ruin the middle-class Chivalry of England altogether. Nor are the poor masters only to blame, — they are often one-sided, pedantic men, ignorant of the constitution of man; the boys' parents are quite as ignorant and mercenary as the master, — they must have their full penny-worth. Then, you know, there are your religious establishments, where the *intellectual and moral culture* of the boys is incessantly attended to, — not a moment spared for mischief; and then "such care taken of their healths!" Ten hours a day hard study of the hardest stuff, most indigestible by the young, — moral essays; sermons; the little play-time cut up into little intercalary snips of time, even if the few square yards of gravel, or the strict edict against all amusements that threaten the boys' limbs, or the master's window-panes, ever so remotely, should allow it. No cricket, no foot-ball, — perhaps a little gymnastic gallows, where boys may climb, and turn over, and swing like monkeys, in perfect safety; no rowing, no sailing, no stolen ride on horseback or on the coach-box; no running and leaping over hedge and ditch, animated by the pursuit of some infuriated game-keeper; but a walk, two and two, in clean dresses, along the high road, dogged by the sallow usher.'

"'Of course no fighting,' said Euphranor, 'and I suppose no flogging either.'

"'And yet,' said I, 'the clenched fist, so soon resolved into the open palm, when once the question of might and right was settled, — how much better than the perpetual canker of a grudge never suffered to explode! — and the good flogging had its humor, — soon passed away, shame and smart, from fore and aft, — much better than the heart-pining, body-contracting con-

finements and impositions which double the already overloaded taskwork, and revenge a temporary fault with a lasting injury. ..... O, it succeeds well,' I continued; 'the boy who came to school with but *some* troublesome activity about him is soon tamed down, grows pale, cheerless, spiritless, hopeless, and *very good*, — a credit to the school, — likely to be a blessing to his parents. It is only one of nature's "best earthly mould," with the spirit of her chivalry strong in his blood, who kicks over the traces, throws the whole "very eligible establishment" into disorder, and rouses the whole dastard soul of Skythrops into a meagre attitude of expulsion, however unwilling he may be to part with any victim who pays. But "he must go, — nothing can be done with him." — He goes.'"

We must allow the doctor space to tell us the result of his management of Sir Lancelot during the second septenniad. We cannot in fairness do less, and we have not room to do more. Besides, he is certainly growing lax, and we fear we have already tolerated too much of him for so grave and conservative a journal as ours.

"'I think I shall be content with him,' said I, 'if (at sixteen say) he shows me outwardly, as before, a glowing cheek, an open brow, copious locks, a clear eye, and looks me full in the face withal; his body a little uncouth and angular perhaps, as compared to his earlier self, because now striking out into manly proportions, not yet filled up; flesh giving way to fibre and muscle; the blood running warm and quick through his veins, and easily discovering itself in his cheeks and forehead, at the mention of what is noble or shameful; his voice "sweet and tunable," as Margaret of Newcastle notices of her brothers, — she does not mean, she says, (nor do I,) an emasculate treble, but no "husking or wharling in the throat," — that is her word, — a clear, open, bell-like voice, telling of a roomy chest, and in some measure, I think, of a candid soul. However that may be,' continued I, seeing Euphranor shake his head at me with a smile, 'candid of soul I hope he is; for I have always sought his confidence, and never used it against himself; never arraigned him severely for the smaller outbreaks of youthful spirit; never exacted sympathy where it was not in the nature of youth to sympathize. He is still passionate, perhaps, as in his first septenniad, but easily reconciled; subdued easily by affection and the appeal to old and kindly remembrance, but stubborn against force; generous, forgiving; still liking to ride rather than to read, and perhaps to settle a difference by the fist than by the tongue; but submitting to those who do not task him above nature's due; apt to sleep under the sermon, but not ceasing to repeat morning and evening the prayers he learned at his mother's knee; ambi-

tious of honor, perhaps, but of honor in action rather than in talk; somewhat awkwardly disposed to dancing, and the accomplishments of the drawing-room, which even now he shirks in order to go earth-stopping with Tom and Jack, who used to set him on Topsail's back in days gone by. In short, I shall be content to find him with all the faults of a vigorous constitution of soul and body, which time and good counsel may direct into a channel of action that will find room for all, and turn all to good. One must begin life with all the strength of life, subject to all danger of its abuse: strength itself, even of evil, is a kind of virtue; whereas weakness is the one radical and incurable evil, growing worse instead of better every year of life.'

"'And this is your education,' said Euphranor, 'for all boys indiscriminately, without regard to any particular genius they may show.'

"'But without injury to it, I hope,' said I; 'for instance, should it lie toward any of those *ologies* which we thought Sir Lancelot's free intercourse with nature especially opened to him, or even toward looking into Plato and Digby for qualities he already unconsciously possesses. But,' I continued, seeing no sign of self-consciousness in Euphranor's own earnest face, 'if Sir Lancelot not only *has* a genius, (as I suppose all men have some,) but *is* a genius, — big with Epic, Lyrical, or Parliamentary inspiration, — I do not meddle with him, — he will take his own course in spite of me. What I have to turn out is, not a genius, but a YOUNG GENTLEMAN, qualified at least for the common professions, or trades, if you like it. Or if he have means and inclination to live independently on his estate, may, *in spite* of his genius, turn into a very good husband, father, neighbor, and magistrate. No mean vocation, in my opinion, who really believe that healthy, courageous good humor, and activity of soul, do radiate a more happy atmosphere throughout a little circle, and, through that, imperceptibly to the world, than cart-loads of poems, sermons, and essays, by dyspeptic divines, authors, and universal philanthropists, whose fine feelings and bad stomachs generally make them tyrants in their own families, and whose books go to draw others into a like unhappy condition with themselves.'"

Here we take leave of our racy interlocutors. We had noted a number of points for some closing reflections by way of improvement, — some for criticism and objection, and some for commendation and enforcement. But we forbear; and we presume that our readers will be as grateful to us for this self-denying omission, as we trust they will be for our bountiful quotations from so fresh and independent a thinker. G. P.

Art. V.—THE APOSTLE PAUL.

St. Paul, though chosen last, is the first in rank of the "glorious company of the Apostles." The Twelve, striving among themselves who should be the greatest, little thought that a native of Tarsus, a city of an insignificant province of Asia Minor, would bear off the palm from the children of the Holy Land. They were appointed to a general office, but he was singled out for a peculiar mission, for which neither the zeal of Peter nor the love of John was adequate. To overstep the limits of Palestine, and carry the Gospel to the vast Gentile world, required a rare combination of gifts, and in Paul that combination was found. The chosen one must be born as it were between Judaism and Gentilism, that he might not be too much tyrannized over by either system. He must be conversant, too, with the old, that he might better measure and appreciate the new. Paul was a Greek by nativity, a Roman by citizenship, and a Jew by religion. Versed in Gentile lore, and taught at the feet of Gamaliel, he was prepared to see, when his eyes were opened, the perfection of the truth as it is in Jesus. With a profound sense of duty inwrought by the Jewish faith, with the culture of a Grecian city, and under the shield of that magic citizenship by which Rome was then opening privileges to the traveller who possessed it over the habitable globe, Paul was furnished in a remarkable manner for his work, by birth, education, and position.

In considering also the "final causes" of the selection of Paul by that Infinite Intelligence, who adapts now an insect to its element of air or water, and now a planet to its orbit, we discern much of fitness and foresight. There is a great work to be done, and a mighty workman is chosen for its execution. The original nature of Paul fitted him to perform a sublime mission. Without question he is the leading intellect among the sacred writers. He had a too sharply defining imagination for a poet, too logical an understanding for a psalmist, and too impassioned a nature for a philosopher; but he nevertheless combined in himself much of all these characters. His illustrations are often beautiful,

his soul is constantly attuned to praise, and by single flashes of thought he compasses results which others attain by long processes of argumentation. Whatever there might be of ruggedness of outline in the forms in which he presented his thoughts, those thoughts themselves burned with an inextinguishable fire of conviction. He was no quoter nor second-hand repeater. Whatever might go into his mind came out personal and Pauline. Wide in his outlook, yet distinct in his aim; indomitable of will, but flexible when that will must bend or break; profound in his thought, but practical in its application; zealous in temperament, yet imbued with a charity that would clasp the world in his embrace; loving controversy, but loving the truth better than victory; highly intellectual, yet always paying allegiance to the supremacy of the moral powers, — the Apostle presented an ample range of contrasts in his genius and character. The intense earnestness of his mind, in whatever direction it moved, and whatever posture it took, is seen in every sentence. Culture had not quenched the generous flame of native ardor. Inspiration had not dulled the energies of a spirit which concentrated the forces of a hundred wills in a single breast, and which heaved with the affections as of a hundred hearts. His whole being pulsates with life. Every faculty is in a high state of vitality. If we complain of imperfections, they are not the imperfections of deficiency, but of superabundance. If his page be dark, it is "dark with excess of light." When he enters upon his theme, the windows of heaven are opened and the fountains of the great deep are broken up. It is as the wise man said, "Lo, my brook became a river, and my river became a sea." In the flood of emotions and thoughts on which he is borne along, all temporal interests are swallowed up, and the reader arrives with the writer at the same all-important conclusions, and responds the same devout Amen!

The Apostle's life also possessed a remarkable unity. He believed Judaism divine, and he advocated it with his whole soul. And when new light came, and he recognized the higher divinity of the Gospel, he was "not disobedient unto the heavenly vision." His notable conversion, therefore, was a change in direction, not in motive, or zeal, or conscientiousness, or devotion to

the service of God. It was like the change of his name, the substitution of one, and that the first, letter for another, changing, but not annihilating, the original sound.

Yet Paul had passed through very different religious experiences from those of the other Apostles, and he derived new power from this source. It has been said that we cannot fully know the strength of an opponent's argument, unless we have at some time been of his belief. Paul was a Hebrew of the Hebrews. A Jewish doctor could tell him nothing new. He had been a Jew after Christ had lived and died, a Jew in opposition and persecution, and he had tasted the guilt of that passion and the force of that prejudice. Men and women he had hauled to prison and to death. In his inhuman bigotry he "breathed out threatenings and slaughter against the disciples of the Lord," and persecuted them from city to city. The very existence of the Christian Church was endangered by this arch enemy. But in the height of his career, he is arrested by a voice from heaven; a voice, not of vengeance, but of mild expostulation and warning from the Lord, whose cause he was pursuing with rancor and murder. Every circumstance connected with the conversion of Paul substantiates its miraculous origin. But within the precincts of his own mind, we detect no compulsion or violation of his free agency. The blow by which he was stopped in his course of persecution was sudden, but the process of mind through which he became fully imbued with the Christian faith and charity was progressive. For a season he sits in blindness and prayer, neither eating nor drinking. For three years he dwelt in Arabia and foreign places, and only once during fourteen years visited Jerusalem, the head-quarters of the new faith. Though no one, accordingly, was more active in proclaiming Christianity to the world, or entered so fully into what might be called the missionary cause of that period, no one, again, had a more personal, peculiar, and vivid religious experience. From a persecutor he had been raised to the glorious office of an Apostle; the chief of sinners, he had found mercy. Hence there is a vividness of emotion, an intense yearning of love and gratitude, that can find no words strong enough to do them justice. Jesus had not been known to him personally in his daily walks

and familiar conversation and travels, as he had to the other disciples. He had spoken to him from heaven, and communicated in visions. He was, therefore, a more solemn and awe-inspiring being, a more transcendent benefactor, than to John who reclined in his bosom, or to Peter who denied him and was pardoned. Paul was very far from regarding or speaking of Jesus as God, but he more constantly calls him Christ and Lord. The events of his own life became the background on which his rescue from the guilt and fate of a persecutor of the Church stood out in strong relief. His own experiences became motives to prompt him to save others. He had measured the depth of that pit out of which he had been drawn, and he spared no toil or suffering to lift up others also from its dark recesses into light and liberty. The line kindles with personal emotion when he speaks of sin and pardon and salvation, and he added to the power of argument the intensity of personal consciousness and conviction.

Then, too, his life subsequently to his conversion furnishes abundant materials to illustrate and vivify his discourse. He had sounded all the depths of the inward life, and he had traversed all the regions and scenes of its objective manifestations. Hence his character was one of no halting or half-way quality. The pendulum of its movement had a wide swing, and it passed through many arcs of a complete circle. What the Apostle said, he said with all his heart, and what he did, he did with all his might. His faculties have totality of action, and when they enter into battle they give their whole momentum to the charge, without fear or misgiving. He could speak like a prophet, because he had lived like a hero. He could write with the enthusiasm of poetry, though without its form, because in his history were the elements of romance. His journeys, his perils, his shipwrecks, his scourgings and stonings, his chains and imprisonments, his joys and his triumphs, all afforded vivid figures of speech, with which his glowing mind clothed itself in the act of composition. He had touched the extreme points of earthly vicissitude, and measured the length and breadth of hope and fear. One day on the point of being adored as a god, he was liable on the next to be killed as a common malefactor. Now the object of the most af-

fectionate confidence, and revered as holding the sceptre of an Apostle's authority, he was exposed by the sudden turn of the wheel of his fortunes to the suspicions of his friends or the malignity of his enemies. Under such circumstances, his words are laden with the unction of the truth for which he lived and suffered. His language becomes action rather than the medium of meditation, and the page seems to heave with the throbbings of a living heart. It thrills and trembles with the exultations and agonies of his powerful emotional nature. "Who," he exclaims, "is offended, and I burn not?" "I glory in my infirmities, that the power of Christ may rest upon me." The writings of Paul, as said by a brother Apostle, "are hard to be understood," but he himself is transparent and intelligible. His weaknesses and his excellences are depicted with all the accuracy of legal testimony.

In analyzing, therefore, the sources of his power, we detect as one of the greatest charms of his writings their vigorous and vital personality. His epistles are an autobiography. They might be called "The Confessions of St. Paul." However abstruse the point of controversy, the face of Paul himself looks out from amidst the arguments. We feel that it is a warm and living hand, fed from a great heart, that is leading us through the labyrinth of free will and foreknowledge. Paul will ever stand within the circle of our human sympathies, for if we cannot in every instance trace the line of his thoughts in their logical sequence, though we never can doubt that that sequence exists to his own mind, we always feel the electric shock of his enthusiasm. His tears and bloody stripes wet the leaf we read, and the resonance of his gratitude echoes and reëchoes from side to side. His dangers and sufferings, his joys and triumphs, his glorious self-sacrifice and his poignant self-reproaches, his scathing moral indignation and his sweet and earnest charity, are portrayed on every page as by the colors of the painter, more than the words of the writer. This autobiographical characteristic of his writings may diminish in some measure the perfection of that "dry light" in which a more impersonal writer would look at his subject, but it will ever add an inexpressible charm to the earliest controversies of the Christian Church, that they were in-

corporated into the living experience and interest of so large and vital a soul as that of the Apostle to the Gentiles. To this quality especially we may attribute much of the interest which attaches to his writings in the churches of the Reformation, because in him more than in any other Apostle is manifested that marked and self-relying independence which constitutes the genius of Protestantism.

Paul had points of resemblance to the other Apostles, but there were also points of difference. He had zeal, but it was unlike the zeal of Peter. It was the zeal of a wider and more cultivated nature, and hence it was intellectually more catholic, and morally more courageous. The horizon of the one was long limited to the boundaries of Palestine. The horizon of the other, from his earliest conversion, became the utmost ends of the earth.

The love of Paul was great, but it was different from the love of John. The affections of Paul were more concerned with persons, and those of John more with principles. The charity of Paul had a more sympathetic, earthly, and circumstantial character. He remembers all his friends, delights in mentioning their names, and has a good word for each and all. The love of John is impersonal, mystical, rapt, as if already borne beyond the fellowship of time and sense. To the great mass of toiling, struggling spirits seeking to rise to God on the wings of ardent devotion, and to embrace all humanity in universal charity, Paul speaks the more effective word of encouragement. But to the few of celestial temper and exquisite tenderness of soul, John is the more welcome Apostle; for, lying in the bosom of Christ and of God, he discourses without a pang or effort of perfect union with the Divine nature, and of the heaven of love in which that union is eternal.

Again, Paul moves in a different plane from that of James, who is the Apostle of what may be called the minor morals. Paul is more versatile, and passes readily from the discussion of the great questions of Judaism and of Christianity to the inculcation of the humblest social duties. But James dwells almost habitually in the range of the prudential and familiar. Paul illustrates from his imagination as well as from his experience; while James animates his subject with the ship, the wave, the foun-

tain, the horse, the rich man with his gold ring, and the poor man in his rags. Paul gives principles, James rules. The motives to which Paul appealed are drawn from a wider compass of thought, and from more profound depths of sentiment; while those employed by James lie within the limited, spiritual sphere of a fisherman of Galilee. The Epistle of James is condensed, epigrammatic, and allows but a short space between its premises of doctrine and its conclusions of duty. But the phalanx of Paul's style sweeps the whole field of revelation, history, and human nature, touches heaven and touches earth, and from the whole immense range of contemplation brings to bear on the human heart, not reasons of conscience or utility alone, but inspirations of love and quickenings of spiritual power.

As the characteristics of Paul differ from those of his apostolical associates, so has he had a peculiar influence and destiny in Christian history. He may be called the Apostle of the Protestant Church, if John be that of the Oriental and the Greek, and Peter of the Roman Catholic. The Cathedral of St. Paul stands in London, the Protestant metropolis, and St. Peter's is in Rome. The mysticism of John, the zealous but compromising spirit of Peter, and the strongly marked intellectual and controversial qualities of Paul, have unconsciously given a cast and coloring to the great bodies of Christendom. As Christ has not yet become the real head of his own Church, those who stood as it were in the capacity of mediators between him and the world have given, not merely a local name and habitation, but an intrinsic spirit, to the churches of nations and ages. Orientalism delights in the Johannian love, and the mystic union with the divine. The Romish Church has too readily coalesced with the existing faith and ceremonies of its converts, whether in ancient Rome or in modern China, as Peter is accused of doing with regard to Judaism. But the Apostle Paul is essentially a controversialist in the good sense of that term, an evangelical dialectician, a tenacious advocate of the truth, ready at all times to do good battle for its smallest iota, whether in theology or morals. The mystical and the ceremonial sects receive Paul with qualification. The followers of Swedenborg do not regard him as canonical, and the liturgies of Greece, Rome,

and England contain scarce a sentence from his glowing utterances of truth and love. But the Protestant chiefs have held Paul in great repute. Luther found in him the doctrine of justification by faith, which he hurled as his most effective missile at the Vatican. Calvin took, as heads to his sermons, hundreds of texts from the Epistles of Paul, but scarcely one from the Gospels, and the confessions of faith of all those churches which hold the Trinitarian dogmas and the doctrines of grace, technically so called, bustle with weapons, offensive and defensive, from the same grand armory.

In order to understand the causes of the somewhat exclusive and despotic influence which the writings of Paul exercise over the majority of the Protestant world, we must take into consideration a variety of facts. Paul's writings are argumentative, and Protestantism, in coming out of the errors of the past and remonstrating against them, necessarily lives and moves and has its being in controversy. Then the vitality of Paul was great; great in his person, great in his mission, and great in history. He has none of the Oriental repose. Paul never could be imagined as the father of monkery. The Protestant and American age, therefore, with all its energy, inventiveness, and restless progress, finds itself mirrored in him as its congenial representative. His vast circumference of intellectual vision, and the strange contrast of his spiritual experiences, that seemed to be almost too many to be comprehended in the life of one man, place him in contact at innumerable points of sympathy with the many-minded soul of Protestantism. He is decided, and perhaps sometimes borders on dogmatism, though he gives sufficient scope to the speculative faculty. And those very qualities which, to our minds, mar him as an image of absolute perfection, make him all the more the Apostle of a peremptory, doctrinal, and yet inquisitive age. His zealous and practical characteristics also, his earnest exhortations and rousing appeals, are much in harmony with modern religious methods, and especially with that great moral crusade in which Christendom is now precipitating itself upon the heathen world. Paul the man of facts and of business, Paul the itinerant preacher, Paul the traveller from city to city and country to country, Paul the writer of epistles to the churches and calls

for contributions of charity, Paul the foreign missionary, must excite unusual interest in an age of locomotion, philanthropy, and missions. He has, as we most firmly believe, been marvellously misinterpreted, looked at, so to speak, microscopically rather than telescopically, and of course made to preach doctrines which he never held, and the incipient element of which in the Christian Church it was one of the leading aims of his letters to extinguish. Still, in certain preliminary and inferior stages of the progress of the individual and of mankind, we can easily conceive that Paul, with his highly-colored peculiarities, would exercise a more potent sway than Jesus Christ, with his stainless perfections. Paul was chosen to be the Apostle to the Gentiles, and the Gentiles make up the greater part of the world.

We believe that there is a new age of Christianity to come, when they who have been so long striving, as did the Twelve, who should be the greatest, will return to Him who *is* the greatest, and when the churches of the Fathers shall give way to the churches of the Epistles; and the churches of the Epistles to those of the Gospels; the churches of the Apostles to the Church of Christ. Those who call themselves *evangelical* would be better characterized as *epistolical*, for they draw, as did Luther and Calvin, more largely from the Epistles than from the Sermon on the Mount. The true order is Patristical, Apostolical, Christian. The reform which still remains unaccomplished in theology is to recede from the commentaries of his followers to the text and spirit of the Infallible Teacher.

But if we complain of the errors of interpretation, it devolves upon us to show why and how all was obscure, and how it happens that he who said, "In the Church I had rather speak five words with my understanding that I might teach others also, than ten thousand words in an unknown tongue," should furnish in his own writings the chief debatable region of theological controversy.

In the first place, if Paul was an Apostle of inspiration, he was also a being of impulse. His genius was regulated not by rule, but it swayed and vibrated under a powerful enthusiasm of a healthful description. In rhetoric, he cannot conclude one figure of speech before he enters upon another. He is full of allusions, sugges-

tions, and hints, and is dramatic without marking distinctly the changes of the dialogue. In logic, his power of argument is unquestionable, but a clew is needed to guide us through the labyrinth, where aisles and side passages are constantly diverging from the main corridor. Paul is abrupt, emotional, parenthetical; he makes rapid transitions and obscure intimations, and repeats in one connection what he has said in another. He reasons, allegorizes, narrates, and exhorts in the same breath, and makes his page, not a homogeneous texture, but a rich mosaic. And like the ancient orators and philosophers, in general, he writes informally and unsystematically; not announcing his subject and its divisions when he begins, nor marking the successive stages of its advancement, nor pausing to recapitulate when he is done. We can conceive a close logical thinker, a severe legal understanding, a profound and far-sighted intellect, taking great pleasure in unravelling the tangled skein of his discourse, and in following the one consecutive thread of his argumentation, until it should be confessed, what we believe to be true, that the last charge that can be sustained against the Apostle is, that he is a loose and illogical writer. If he break the rules of composition, it is to follow the higher laws of his own transcendent intellect.

Then his writings are all epistolary. Judging by his speeches reported in the Acts of the Apostles, his oral discourse was sufficiently intelligible. But a letter is necessarily a blind composition except to the correspondents themselves. It refers to many things known only to the parties concerned, is filled with obscure allusions, and takes many points for granted. It is unexpected in its transitions, informal in its statements, bold in its liberties, familiar and personal in its illustrations, careless in its diction, and loose in its arrangement of topics; a production written on the spur of the moment, rather than by mature study and careful review, and often most successful as a letter when least capable of being classed with any other composition.

In writing to public bodies, as he generally did, Paul escapes some of the infelicities of the epistolary style, and raises his letters more into the rank of set treatises. His subject, too, the wonderful new religion, and his object, the conversion to the Gospel of all mankind, im-

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parted of course a gravity and dignity not common to ordinary correspondence. His salutations are Christian greetings, and his compliments, exhortations to love and good works. He is lyrical, percussive, impassioned, and at times satirical, but all in earnestness and good nature, and all the filaments of the discourse are woven into a complete whole. With the principles he held, and the end he had in view, the letters of Paul are works of artistic beauty, and full of unity and life. They are the flower of his genius, dashed with a heavenly odor, and imbued with a quick contagion to all true souls of like divine sentiments. They burn, they glow, they are warm and heaving with life-blood.

Besides these qualities of an informal style and an impassioned soul, the Epistles have the length, the stress of argument, and the range of thought, essential to works of a larger calibre. For whatever Paul did must bear the stamp of a strong and earnest nature. He was not one to trifle or bandy words with friend or foe, but threw his whole soul into every thought and action. The bright blade of his falchion is always unsheathed. His mind is ever at its full tension. Hence his letters, though written for a transient purpose, bore his spirit like a rushing wind to distant cities, and diffused it throughout humanity. He alludes, in one instance, to the weightiness of his epistles, as not being matched by the authority of his personal presence. But none except himself has disparaged his oral address. His discourses in the Acts of the Apostles are full of beauty and power, and we read of the effects of his eloquence, when, standing as a defenceless prisoner before the proud and titled of the earth, "he reasoned of righteousness, temperance, and judgment to come."

We must remember, likewise, that all was not as clear to the Apostle, though miraculously illuminated, as to those who have lived later, and possessed in Christian history the key of interpretation. We behold the Gospel in its diffusion, he beheld it in its cradle. Though less subjective than the other Apostles, he might be said to be too near the object to see it well. Granted that he was a prophet, yet it is one of the conceded points of his office that he does not fully comprehend the burden and bearing of his own predictions. Granted that he was

inspired, yet inspiration is help, not substitution; a gift of degrees; and it is not of universal infallibility any more than it is of absolute sinlessness, and does not forego individual thought, style, argument, and illustration. Paul again and again announces himself as speaking as a man, as well as from the Lord. He is evidently and professedly his own free agent, as well as the servant of Jesus Christ; the personal pronoun often occurs in his writings, and he utters himself, not with a servile dictation forced upon his mind, but with a truth-seeking aspiration rising from it. He drew the water of life from the fountains of his own being, though those fountains were as the rock in the desert until smitten by a divine rod, and bitter as those of Marah until sweetened by the branch of Christian charity.

In reviewing the actions and writings of historical characters, we are too prone to imagine that they judge themselves from our point of view instead of their own. We attribute to them an anticipation of all that has since befallen them of fame and influence. We do not sufficiently consider, that to them, as to us now, the future spread out a cloudy curtain; or if, as in the case of prophet and apostle, they could discern the faint shadows of events to come, yet their perspective was very imperfect. Time that brought the fulfilment must also bring the explanation. There is no reason to suppose that Paul foresaw that his Epistles would contribute more than a third part of the permanent Scriptures of the Christian Church. Many believe, and not without plausible reasons, that he viewed the catastrophe of all things as then impending, and that his own were some of the last zealous words that would be spoken to arouse dormant consciences. Paul gives no intimation of having foreseen Christian Europe and Christian America. Much less, probably, did he suspect that the hurried and impassioned letters which he dictated in the intervals snatched from tent-making, travelling, and preaching, and which bore the form and imperfection of the hour in some respects, would be exalted into permanency and universality, and that one hundred and fifty languages at the end of twenty centuries would repeat his exhortations and arguments to all the tribes of men. He wrote, if we may say so, instinctively, rather than intentionally.

As he himself said, "necessity was laid upon him," and a zeal, all absorbing and unselfish, urged him onward. Thus writing for the time, he has doubtless written the best for all times, though, had he foreseen his fortune as an author as well as an Apostle, he would probably have reëdited his letters, to use the modern phrase. But it is well that he did not know the boundless sphere of his influence, for it might have proved a disturbing cause even to his apostolic singleness of heart. It is well that the great do not ever anticipate at the moment the consequences that are to flow from their words and deeds. With all their obscurities, therefore, the Epistles accomplish a greater mission for universal humanity, because they speak so individually to Timothy and Philemon, Romans and Ephesians. The cases of his churches in fact generalized the world. But being "Tracts for the Times," and all the better for that reason, we must not complain that these letters contain some riddles when read in our times. Paul had in his mind, when he wrote, men and women living in a totally different state of society from the present, and the whole warp and woof of whose social and traditional existence were otherwise compounded and colored. It is indeed wonderful that, in this view, while the form and occasion of the Apostle's works were thus peculiar and temporary, their spirit is so central, and their adaptation so comprehensive and eternal.

Another cause of obscurity lies in the controversial character of the Epistles. We have not the statements of the other side except by implication. We are obliged to read Paul's opponents through Paul. Most of that world of thought and manners which Paul had in his eye, which shaped his arguments, gave complexion to his style, fired his enthusiasm, and aroused his energy, is irrevocably dead and buried, and not even the best trained and most creative moral and historical imagination can raise it again to life. We have glimpses here and there of customs and characters then prevalent, and of the agitating questions of the Church, but they are pale and ghost-like. If the Apostle were hard to be understood in his own day, and his reasonings began so early to be wrested to prove another doctrine than he intended, how significant was that fact of the fortune of subsequent

ages, when whole systems of theology would be built upon his authority, that are alien to his spirit!

We are not inclined, again, to make sufficient allowance for the barrenness of language at that period for communicating such truths as Jesus and his Apostles taught. The Hebrew tongue was very limited in its vocabulary, and stiff and circumscribed in its idioms. The Greek, though in some respect the most perfect of languages, had yet sprung from a people rather volatile and witty than spiritually-minded, and more æsthetic than moral. And the Jewish Greek, or Hellenistic dialect, though richer than either Hebrew or Greek alone for the purposes of the sacred writers, was yet too confined and sensuous to give a distinct and luminous outline to that new cast of moral thought, and those higher spiritual conceptions, which it was the mission of Paul to introduce into the Gentile world. Old words must be filled with a new sense. Old idioms must dilate with a grander style of spiritual imagination. Hence we often feel that the writer was obliged to resort to circumlocutions, and multiplicity of terms and sentences, to do himself justice, and that his language sometimes breaks down under the weight of his thoughts. Then the translation into English has still further complicated the difficulties of language. Paul, though rendered in the tongue of Shakspeare and Milton, is obscure, with the best helps of modern criticism. But we can easily imagine, that, if he had originally possessed such a rich and powerful instrument of spiritual expression as the English or German of our day, the demands of so many-sided and profound a soul as that of Paul to defend and embody itself in words, would have been more adequately supplied.

From these remarks upon the general obscurity of the Apostle, we would descend to some specific points in which he has been, as we think, greatly misunderstood. Unhappy Paul, crucified in the body in his day, crucified in the spirit in ours! He is constantly made to prove what he never believed, to uphold what he spent himself in overthrowing, and quoted continually as authority for sentiments on which he would have bestowed a hearty *anathema maranatha.* Cant recites, with measured tone and dogmatic purpose, sentences that came glowing in a

white heat from his ardent soul. Bigotry is intent upon digging up the flowers which he planted to adorn the garden of God, to find some root of bitterness. Theologians express their ideas in his words, rather than his ideas in their words. The most free from technical or philosophical limitation of any of the writers of the New Testament, unless it be John, recasting the Gospel in his own forms of phraseology, Paul is the last man to be quoted to justify any sort of exclusiveness or uncharitableness in religion, or to tie down all the world to the same formularies of faith, worship, and works. A freely living and a freely moving soul, airing himself in the atmosphere of different countries and continents, conversant with the works of God and the philosophies of men, touching at one point the culture of the intellectual Greek, and at the other that of the believing Hebrew, commissioned to proclaim and establish in new regions so loving and liberal a system as the Gospel, love from God, and good-will to men, with his bosom heaving in sympathetic beatings to every pain and wrong of the race, and with his tears flowing like a fountain whenever ill betided any portion of the Church, Paul is made to utter a language at variance with every emotion of his heart, and every purpose of his life, when he is interpreted as the teacher of doctrines inconsistent with the fatherly character of God, condemnatory of human nature, and darkening its destiny here and hereafter. Paul has given us, not a body of divinity, rigid and narrow, but a soul, and that soul consists in faith, hope, and charity. With what amazement would he have looked upon the spectacle of modern textual theology! With what severity would he have lashed that principle of interpretation that can at one time torture out of his writings justifications for exclusive creeds and persecuting churches, and at another, licenses for social inhumanity and public wrong! Would he recognize, indeed, and own as his writings those epistles, crumbled up, almost without regard to connection, into chapters and verses, compacted sentences divided and subdivided into separate propositions, sometimes mistranslated, and shaded with the expressions and biases of a dark age of society and theology, — when read, read piecemeal, as if constituting a charm, not a composition, — and when quoted, quoted

in fragments, broken from their place and connection, to point a sentence or prop up a doctrine, as if they were independent proverbs, not closely jointed limbs of a living and inseparable body? There is no part of the Sacred Scriptures so much injured by this mode of treatment as the long sentences and close argumentation of the Apostle Paul. No book but one so potent and vital as the Bible could survive for any considerable time such a Medean process. As it is, a new translation can hardly be expected that will secure so generally the suffrages of the Protestant sects in England and America as the imperfect one of King James's reign. But in the mean time, paragraph Bibles, and editions with here and there an explanatory note in the margin, like those of Shakspeare and other English classics, to say nothing of commentaries, might do something to remove the veil from these glorious works. The Epistles are a mine still to be worked, and capable of yielding new supplies to the golden currency of truth.

One very important question in regard to these writings is, whether they really make any essential doctrinal addition to the Christian religion, or not. They no doubt contribute many new illustrations, applications, and developments of the truth, but do they impart what is absolutely new, and what cannot be found in the Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles? On this subject theologians have differed, but even those who take the negative still concede a species of new revelation to Paul, inasmuch as he gives more fully than any other the philosophical explanation of the concluding facts in the life of Jesus, the crucifixion, resurrection, and ascension, and his posthumous influence upon his Church. Macknight, one of the most moderate and candid of critics, speaks as follows: "With respect to the Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles, let it be remarked, that, while the greatest regard is due to them, especially to the Gospels, because they contain the words of Christ himself, we are not in them to look for the full account of the Gospel scheme. Their professed design is to give, not a complete history of our religion, but the history of its founder, and of that illustrious display he made of his glory as the Son of God and Saviour of the world, together with an account of the spreading of the Gospel

after our Lord's ascension. The Gospel doctrine is to be found complete only in the Epistles, where it is exhibited with great accuracy by the Apostle to whom the Holy Ghost revealed it as Christ had promised." Other commentators and divines avow the same remarkable theory, and the spirit of it has widely vitiated the theology of many centuries.

We believe, on the other hand, that Paul was not a revealer, but an analyzer, applier, commentator, of the Gospel. He philosophized about its facts and truths, but he did not originate a single essential one. If any distinct principle of Christianity were disclosed in the Epistles alone, we should regard it as a matter of great wonder, if not of questionable authority. We cannot believe, with Bolingbroke, that the Gospel of Christ is one thing; and that the Gospel of Paul, and of all those who have grafted after him on the same stock, is another. But if the *doctrines of grace*, so called, do depend solely or chiefly upon the words of Paul, then we submit that they occupy a secondary, and not a primary, place in Christian theology. That Jesus should be born and sent into the world to bear witness to the truth, and should leave that truth unspoken, and that it should devolve on one who had not been imbued with the spirit of his Master's personal intercourse and instructions, but converted from the ranks of his enemies, to consummate the glorious design, is utterly incredible. We believe the character of God, and of his Son, the need of the Gospel, and all its leading features, its succession to Judaism, and its universality for the race, are all taught in the Gospels and Acts of the Apostles. The miracles, parables, and conversations of our Lord are not distinctly dwelt upon, though they are referred to by Paul, but the primal truths which underlie them are the basis of his every argument and exhortation. If the doctrine of the Trinity, the total depravity of human nature, justification by faith, election, effectual grace, and the final perseverance of the saints, or any other dogma were actually to be found in Paul, we should regard it as wonderful indeed that our Saviour had not even lisped of it in his Sermon on the Mount, his commission to the Twelve or to the Seventy, his parables, or his farewell discourses and prayers with his disciples. But the proof-texts which are employed to de-

fend the above doctrines are more largely drawn from the Epistles of Paul than from other portions of the Scriptures. The Apostle settled some controversies, but he has originated many more. For the sake of maintaining the value of tradition, the Roman Catholics and the Puseyites contend that the doctrine of the Trinity cannot be upheld on the authority of the New Testament alone. The Fathers must be brought in to complete the structure which the Apostles left unfinished. Were that ground tenable, it is evident that, so far as you thus strengthen tradition, you really weaken the word of God. It is a dangerous concession to make respecting any Christian doctrine, that it is defensible upon some other grounds than those of the Bible. And so we may say of Calvinism, that if it be, as some say, in the Epistles of Paul, but not in the discourses of Christ, so much the worse for Calvinism, to say nothing of Paul. It is pretty conclusive evidence that Christianity and Calvinism are discordant systems. But we hold that there is no such unfortunate clashing of authorities; that the New Testament is a homogeneous book; that all its witnesses yield a harmonious testimony, and that the Gospel is one and the same in essence, though differently cast and colored in passing through finite minds, and that the Christianity of Paul is easily seen to be identical in all its substantials with the Christianity of the Evangelists.

Dr. Channing justly says, in a letter to a friend: "You must show that the passages in the Epistles which are thought to teach other and higher doctrines than Jesus taught are in fact only different forms of the same truth, — and narrower forms, being adaptations of it to a particular age, and very peculiar state of the Church. As long as men think they find in the Epistles great principles not communicated in the Gospels, the latter will pass only for initiatory teaching. Here, I apprehend, is the chief use of Biblical criticism, — not to disclose new truths, but to show that the darker parts of the New Testament, which belong almost wholly to the Epistles, contain the same doctrine with the simple and luminous teaching of Jesus." *

* *Memoir*, Vol. II. p. 416.

The mistake which has been committed in relation to the doctrine of Justification by Faith has so lately been exposed in a number of this journal,* that it is unnecessary to dwell upon it further. Paul's doctrine is one thing, an amplification in fact of what may be found in every verse of the Sermon on the Mount, but the doctrine which has been attributed to Paul is quite another thing. In fine, we might suppose that the strongest espousers of the notion of any justification, except that implied in the superiority of the spiritual principle in Christianity over all merely legal, ceremonial, or habitual rules, was sufficiently demonstrated by the Apostle himself. If Paul preach justification by faith, he preaches again and again still more loudly justification by charity; and if he insist upon the value of doctrine in his discussions, he always winds up his Epistles with the most spirit-stirring exhortations and provocatives to love and good works, as if the destiny of a thousand souls depended on every grace and virtue, and the only reasonable conclusion to the whole matter was, to fear God and keep his commandments.

That the Election of Paul is not any thing more than the election of Christ, or the election, in fact, of nature, or life, we believe is substantiated, not by any stiff and formal theory, that cuts the knots it cannot untie, but by the necessary and rational interpretation of language. If we please to resort to a theology of texts, and bits of patchwork, and believe that "figures of speech are the pillars of the Church," we can prove any thing and believe every thing. But if we take into view the broad and general tenor of the Apostle's teachings, we shall see him vindicating with seraphic fire the impartiality, not the exclusiveness, of the Divine administration, and that, if God diversified men's external privileges, he made those most favored with spiritual advantages the more responsible trustees of such benefits for the good of all. The election of Paul is like the election of Providence, by which birth, nation, age, clime, color, are determined for us, or by which the painter, the poet, the artisan, are by the natural faculties of their minds predestinated to their several offices. He made the doctrine, not one of ease,

* *Christian Examiner* for March, 1851.

but of energy; not of final condition, but of intermediate privilege; and he does not put his own case, sealed and illustrated as it apparently was by the most explicit Divine authentication, beyond the possibility of his being a castaway.

And in relation to that capital article of modern theology, the Atonement, it is remarkable how little the fact has been taken notice of, that, while the Apostle lays great stress upon the death of Christ, or, to use the vivid and speaking metaphor, "his blood," he lays tenfold more emphasis on the resurrection of Christ, as the controlling evidence of the truth of his mission, as the life-giving revelation of immortality. As it has been said a hundred times, and must be said as many more, the word *atonement* occurs but once in the New Testament (Rom. v. 11), and there, according to uniform usage, it should be rendered *reconciliation*. The modern idea of the Atonement is rebutted on every leaf and chapter of these letters, and wherever it seems to find any occasional footing, it hangs merely upon the flowers of the Apostle's branching and luxuriant rhetoric, and constitutes no part of the essential root and trunk of his reasoning. We believe the doctrine in question subversive of the natural justice of God, while conflicting at every point with that boundless mercy which shines as a central sun in the Gospel. The expression, "for Christ's sake," which is frequently used in prayers and graces, and is designed to convey the impression, that what God gives to man he gives, not on account of his own intrinsic benevolence, or man's own intrinsic need, but on account of what Christ has done and suffered to purchase his favorable regards to a rebel and rejected race, also occurs but once in the Christian Scriptures (Ephes. iv. 32), and should by every principle of a uniform translation be there construed *in* or *through Christ*. The idea of its being necessary that something should be done or suffered by Christ, in order to render it consistent for God to forgive even his penitent child, is the master idea of the Atonement, and there is not a vein or artery in the Protestant body which has not been more or less tinged by it. The doctrine of the Atonement is the main post in the battle-field of modern controversy, and under differing forms, and with the interest either of adoption or of denial, it

commands the range of theological literature. The mode of understanding the figurative language of the Scriptures, on which it is maintained, would equally well give countenance to the doctrine of Transubstantiation; and let it be added, that the theory on which it is founded perpetuates the system of Jewish exclusiveness, with this single gloomy addition, that, unlike that temporal system, it spreads it over the vast compass of man's spiritual being, and sends it down to the remotest ages of futurity.

It is not a little singular, that the writings which so often take for their theme the liberty of Christ, the spiritual emancipation from the letter to the spirit, the universal faith of Jew and Gentile, bond and free, should be the very ones that by a misunderstanding are employed to promulgate the partial and limited systems of Depravity, Election, and the Atonement. Who indeed would recognize in the systems of Calvin and his modifiers, unyielding as iron, and fixed and remorseless as fate, the tender and trembling responsibility of Paul, the charity that yearned and prayed for the worst, and cast not a solitary creature, except as self-exiled and self-condemned, beyond the pale of mercy. If it be doubted whether a system of theology can be essentially mutilated by the process of adding a little here, and subtracting a little there, which in obedience to their theories has been practised by the great doctors of Christendom upon the Epistles, take an illustration in Hogarth's picture of *Perspective*, and see how fatally by such a perversion nature and reality may be driven out with a pitchfork in that art which represents ideas by forms, and which is kindred to that which represents them by words.

John Keats makes a distinction between great men and sublime men. Of the very few constituting the latter class, Paul is one. He was a sublime man in his nature. Wherever he lived, and whatever position he might occupy, he would leave his mark upon the world, broad, peculiar, and eternal. He possessed that immeasurable might of will and resource of soul, which make one stronger than a million of ordinary capacity. They become under his creative and inventive agency as clay in the hands of the potter. They are as the elementary substance through which his electric energies circulate. In the true census, men are to be weighed, not counted.

Genius is an intellectual gift, but sublime men are more than geniuses. They are seers, prophets, apostles, founders of states, fathers of their country, moral and spiritual archetypes of new eras of history, new stages of man's progress towards God. This class possess genius, but their genius is not exclusive; it is but one element of that august assemblage of powers by which they communicate a new vital force to the dormant mass of humanity, and speak the work of genesis, that brings order and beauty out of ages of darkness, chaos, and despair. It is their mighty moral, as well as intellectual power, which makes the earth gravitate nearer to heaven, and man more to resemble his Maker. To genius, to a superlative moral nature, Paul added the more transcendent gifts of inspiration. Sublime as a man, he became still more sublime as an Apostle of Christ.

Paul was sublime in his life and actions. His history includes contrasts greater than those of any romance. Once a persecutor of that faith of which he afterwards became the very chiefest Apostle, arrested in the height of his defiance by the voice from heaven of that Master for whose sake he afterwards died, after adding suffering to suffering and labor to labor, while he lived, the story of Paul, were we not so familiar with it from the nursery, would be read as the most wonderful of biographies, and as containing at once the sublimity of epic, and the pathos of tragic life. We are accustomed to estimate these subjects so exclusively from a devotional and conventional point of view, that we fail to form those clear, critical, and æsthetical judgments at which we arrive in estimating other questions of history and biography. The scale of Paul's enterprises was Titanic. To change the religion of the world was a task of no little magnitude. His actions are great, like his plans, great in conception, great in motive, and great in progress, execution, and result. Any thing small, mean, or unworthy we may be sure took instant flight from so impressive and luminous a presence. Wherever he moves, he bears with him the sceptre of unresisting authority and godlike beneficence. What men have erroneously called boastings were but the expressions of his childlike frankness, and the uncalculating pouring forth of that love which only asked as its reward sympathy in return. No man surpassed Paul

in candor, none in the disinterestedness of his motives. Both in the quantity and the quality of his work, his life rose to the sublime. In all the great centres of the old nations, at the head fountains of thought and influence, Jerusalem, Athens, Ephesus, Corinth, Rome, he was present, and his presence was felt; he spoke a word that stirred the world, and that word was the Gospel of Christ, the sum of Divine wisdom for man. Paul awoke revolutions, organized institutions, and applied Christianity to new uses and adaptations, and gathered in a grand unity Jew and Gentile, bond and free, in one Church. Three hundred years did not elapse before the cross was the ensign of Rome, when Rome was the mistress of the world. And to-day, in all the hundred capitals of the nations, in a hundred different tongues, Paul is read, preached, and meditated upon, and next to the unapproachable Master impels the religious thought of the races and the ages.

Paul is sublime in his writings and in his earthly immortality. The brightest geniuses pale in the revolutions of time. Their names may be known as the commonplaces of history and literature, but their ideas have grown obsolete, their compositions cease to instruct and charm; little by little they die out of the memory of men, and they transmit to other hands the sceptre of their once unquestioned dominion. Their works are as the fossils of an earlier stratum of the earth. They lie in dead languages and on dusty shelves, read by a handful of scholars, but retaining little living hold upon the mind of the civilized world. But it is the glory of Paul, as it is of a greater than Paul, to win new power by time, to add as years and centuries pass new subjects to his faith, new provinces to his empire. The author of one third of the New Testament, the preacher of Christian truth to mankind, no king ever had so wide a sway, no kingdom such a duration. He has spoken words that have thrilled deeply, and will thrill for ever the soul of man. Coleridge said,* "I think St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans the most profound work in existence." Channing remarked,† "We cannot but consider the letters of Paul, with all their abrupt transitions and occasional obscuri-

* *Table Talk*, Vol. II. p. 100. † *Memoir*, Vol. I. p. 380.

ties, as more striking exhibitions of genuine Christianity than could have been transmitted by the most labored and artificial compositions." It is in the words of Paul that Christian devotion offers her warmest tribute of praise, Christian joy expresses her ecstasies, and Christian sorrow finds the charm of her soothing and her patience. Paul guides and instructs the living, comforts the sick and stricken, and opens upon the bed of death the bright vistas of a hope shining down from heaven. In Paul, Charity found a tongue to discourse with more than human eloquence of her beauties and glories, and in Paul the Resurrection and Life Everlasting speak in a tone so reasonable and so majestic, so convincing to the understanding, and so consolatory to the heart, that even at the mouth of the grave, where we commit "earth to earth, ashes to ashes, dust to dust," Faith seizes the extinguished torch of life, lights it anew at her altar, and leads the way through the dark valley of the shadow of death with a hope built in heaven and full of immortality. A. A. L.

Art. VI. — ECCLESIASTICAL CHRISTENDOM.

[An Address, delivered before the Ministerial Conference in Boston, May 27, 1851, by Rev. Frederic H. Hedge.]

Gentlemen and Brethren, — I have great pleasure in accepting the invitation of your committee which places me here to-day. Our ecclesiastical year has no occasion to which I could speak with greater satisfaction than this.

The regulations adopted at a former meeting of this Conference have assigned to this morning session the discussion of theological topics; reserving for a later hour those of a practical and social nature.

Of theological topics, — if we give to theology the wide acceptation which use has established, — I know none more pressing at present than that which, during the past year, has chiefly agitated the religious mind at home and abroad, — the Ecclesiastical Prospects of the

Christian world. It is the old question between Protestantism and Romanism which again, by a singular destiny, after so many years of comparative rest, has come to be the prominent question of the day. And we, as Protestants, are called to consider our position in relation, not to this or that sect or symbol of our fellow-Protestants, but in relation to our ancient antagonist, the Church of Rome. We are called to consider the position of Protestantism itself, — its present and its future, its resources, its capabilities, and its duties in relation to that long struggle whose fourth century now culminating exhibits as yet no sign of languescence, and no promise of peace.

It cannot be denied, that the present position of Protestantism is, in some respects, less favorable than it was a century ago, when the battle of Culloden had reconfirmed the Protestant succession of the English throne, and the peace of Dresden had secured to the house of Brandenburg a more commanding influence than any Continental power of the new confession had before attained. If the relative increase of numbers since then has been on the side of Protestantism, that increase is due to the growth of population in Protestant countries, and not to conversions made from the Roman faith. The increase from conversion has been on the other side; and the relative increase of influence in European affairs has been greatly in favor of the elder church.

With the beginning of this century there commenced a reaction on the irreligious tendencies of French philosophy and French politics, which is still in progress. The general direction of this movement was and is Romeward. Its first symptoms appeared in German literature, in the "crypto-catholicism" of the Romanticists, in the passionate regrets of Novalis, and the pious apostasy of Count Stolberg and the younger Schlegel. A generation passed before the movement reached England, where it assumed, after the manner of that country, a more positive and pragmatic character. If Germany, pausing in her intellectual progress, looked wishfully over her shoulder, "Young England" turned fairly round, and catching a momentary gleam of the sun, then behind her, on the painted windows of her abbeys, voted the last three centuries a mistake. Then commenced the revival

of mediæval tastes, which we Americans, having no Middle Ages, and no historic justification of such a fashion, copied, of course; changing our comfortable meeting-houses into grim sepulchral vaults, and putting ourselves on a short allowance of air and light. So much for the æsthetic. Let us now look at the political side of this reaction. I call your attention to what is most recent.

In Germany, the great battle-field of modern history, where, from the time of Varus to the Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle, the Southron and the Saxon, the spirit of empire and the spirit of liberty, have met in repeated conflicts, — in Germany, during the past year, a battle of diplomacy has been waged, which, if ecclesiastical interests were not expressly named or officially present, was, nevertheless, as truly a battle of the churches as that which Lord John Russell and the Vatican have been waging on the English soil. Austria and Prussia, the one representing autocracy and the past, the other development and progress, — hence, indirectly, hierarchy on the one hand, and Protestantism on the other, — have stood confronting each other like pugilists in a ring, each watching to obtain some advantage over his adversary, each looking for some unguarded spot in which to plant a decisive blow; the ring being formed of the secondary German powers and the petty sovereignties, about equally divided between the two faiths. In this contest Prussia, with all her moral superiority, has discovered a weakness which shows that the Protestant interest has lost ground in Europe since the treaty of 1818; and were it not for the fear of internal division, and perhaps the counterpoise of the Greek Church in the counsels of Vienna, the "Ultramontane" power in Germany would come in for reprisals due from the time of the Suabian emperors, with added claims from the peace of Augsburg and the peace of Münster. It is this, together with the weakness of the Papal court, and not the energy of Protestant rule, that intercepts the advantage politically due to Rome from the present posture of German affairs. For on neither side of the Alps is strength or counsel, or the man for the hour. The mighty Hohenstaufen, who made the old empire the breakwater of Papal aggression, when its tide poured fiercest through the Rhætian notch, are now represented by weaklings and dilettanti; and a client of

the French republic holds the place of that Innocent whose ban-bolts made both France and England quail, and who dictated his own terms to both their kings.

In France the ecclesiastical power of Rome, whose singular privilege it is to gain new strength from every new reverse, has increased, instead of diminishing, since the revolution of 1848; and at no time within this century has the Church been more active and more conscious of its strength in that country than now.

In England, where the Papal power for nearly a century was thought to be almost extinct, — where "Catholic Emancipation," so hazardous in 1780, was accomplished without disturbance in 1829, — in England the progress of Roman principles, the forwardness of Roman influence, and the terror of Roman usurpation, were never, since the days of the Stuarts, so conspicuous and so determined as now. The cry of "No Popery," unheard since the Gordon Riots, is liable at any moment to become again the rallying-cry of an English mob. In that country the defections in favor of Rome, during these years, have probably outnumbered all the proselytes gained by Protestantism since the sixteenth century. Encouraged by these symptoms, the Pontiff has shown a disposition, so it is thought, to cast his shoe over England, and to contest with the Anglican Church the possession of that fair heritage which so captivated the first Gregory. Meanwhile he has begun by casting his hat, to an English ecclesiastic, during the past year, a cardinal's hat, conferring a seat in that college which fills the vacancies in the Papal chair. With Cardinal Wiseman's zeal and gifts the possibility is suggested of an English Pope, and should a change of residence for that functionary be thought desirable in the present decadence of secular Rome, an ancient precedent is there to justify it. What was admissible in the fourteenth century is admissible in the nineteenth, and the claims of Avignon then were no better than those of London or Dublin are now, or than those of Cincinnati may be a few years hence.

These are fancies, but what is certain is, that Popery is making extraordinary efforts to extend itself westward, and is extending with portentous strides. Its growth in our own country, where fifty years since it had scarcely a foothold, is not the least wonderful of American

growths. The increase from conversion has been inconsiderable in numbers, and yet there are not wanting some very remarkable cases, which show that neither vigor of intellect nor high culture is proof against the seductions of that sorceress, who knows so well how to drug her cup with charms adapted to every shade and grade of mind. The increase by immigration, from year to year, is one of the most significant facts in our national statistics, connected as it is with other problems than the ecclesiastical one we are now discussing, — problems of social and political import, sufficiently perplexing, and suggesting, among others, this question, — Whether, with the present rate of foreign immigration, and in the present state of our naturalization laws, the universal suffrage which has hitherto been regarded as the strong palladium of our liberties may not prove, at some future period, to be their grave.

In all the most important cities in this country, the Roman Church is strongly rooted and a fixed fact. No church among us is stronger in the hold which it has on its subjects, in the subordination of its members to a common earthly head and a common earthly aim, and in the force it can bring to bear, at any moment, on any given point. The majority of Protestant families in this, as in most of our cities, contain one or more Romanist members. And in many cases those Romanist members are the most religious members of the family, after their fashion, — the most devoted to their forms and their church. No class of persons, in proportion to their means, pay larger pecuniary contributions to their church than the Irish who serve in our families; and we, through them, are all contributors in a greater or less degree to that Church's support. Wherever there is a centre of population or a centre of influence, there Rome has established a point of command. With every year she multiplies the nuclei of her spiritual life; and if immigration continues as in these years, and the children of immigrant Romanists remain to the parent Church, the time is not distant when, in point of numbers, that Church will overshadow us all.

I mention these things, not in the way of alarm. There is no ground for alarm. For if it were possible, in the order of history, that Romanism should swallow

up Protestantism, such an event would imply in the prevalent Church a Divine authority by which it prevails. Such a success would show a preponderance of truth on that side, in view of which alarm and regret must yield to assent. Not every temporary success, indeed, can be regarded as proof that the cause which succeeds is the right cause. Yet, if we believe that history is providential, if we believe in a Supreme Ruler of human affairs, it should seem that only that can succeed in the final event which deserves to succeed, and that, taking large periods into view, the world's history is the world's judgment.

But we have no reason to anticipate such an event. We have no reason to apprehend the universal prevalence of the Roman Church, constituted and defined as it now is. To say nothing of its theological errors, or what we conceive to be such, its relations to science, politics, and human progress at present are such as to preclude that prevalence so long as a seed remains of the race by which the triumphs of modern civilization have been won. Before Romanism can swallow up Protestantism, it will have to undergo such radical modifications of its spirit, and such organic changes in its polity, as would leave little or nothing of those distinctive and obnoxious features which we now associate with it. It must become less Roman and more catholic, less Papal and more congregational, less ritual and more spontaneous, less ecclesiastical and more spiritual; above all, it must divest itself of its secular pretensions; it must have the scarlet washed out of it; in a word, it must Americanize before it can take up the Protestant American religions, which, with all their antiphonies among themselves, unite in a common and traditional repugnance to prelacy and Babylonian abominations. On the other hand, it is equally certain that Protestantism can never swallow up Romanism, nor even cope successfully with it, until it is at one with itself and understands itself; until its crudities are digested, and a common soul strikes through it and fuses it and recasts it into a solid whole.

But though the rapid growth of the Roman faith and the sudden accession of vigor and importance which that Church has acquired in these days are no cause for alarm, they are very significant facts; they suggest important

topics of reflection, and call for new inquiry into the claims and grounds and resources of that faith, and the wants and defects, as well as the advantages, of our own.

As Protestants and Americans, we are apt to underrate the real strength and importance of the old Church, in this age of the world. We are apt to think of it as we do of other mediæval creations, as we do of the material structures of that age, the old feudal castles that interest us only as ruins. We think of it as something surrendered to decay, dismantled, crumbling, scarce habitable through extreme decadence. Or if not exactly ruinous, we regard it as miserably weak in comparison with what it was in other centuries, and as growing yearly weaker in the tide of human progress which lashes its base. This is the view of Protestants generally. Those who think otherwise are looked upon as alarmists. Even our own Channing, in an article published originally in the Western Messenger, and abounding, like all his writings, in insight and wisdom, takes this view of it. "Its great foe," says he, "is the progress of society. The creation of dark times, it cannot stand before the light. . . . . The political revolutions of the times are enough to seal its death-warrant," etc. I very much doubt the correctness of this estimate. Greater revolutions than those which Channing saw have occurred since he wrote. But all the revolutions which have agitated Europe for the last hundred years have rather strengthened the Roman Church than weakened it. To say that it is at this moment the strongest Church in Christendom is a very inadequate statement of the fact. It is the strongest organized power on the face of the earth. I do not see that it is not as strong now as it has been any time since the days of Hildebrand. I do not say that the Papal chair is as strong; that happens just now to be weak; yet not so weak as it has been many times before in the course of its history. The strength of the Papal chair depends on the incumbent for the time. But the Roman Church is apparently as strong now as she ever was; as strong, I mean, spiritually, not politically. It does not appear that the Protestant movement has essentially crippled her means, or weakened her power. Of decadence there is no sign, certainly no consciousness on her

part. The countries on which she feeds are decayed, because she has absorbed their life. But there is life enough left to feed her, — she will take care to preserve so much, and she does not care that there should be any more, — no sign of decadence, and no misgiving or doubt of her own destiny. Mr. Macaulay, writing in 1840, before the Tractarian movement had fully developed itself, and when the prospects of Romanism were far less promising than they are now (scanning those prospects with the eye of an historian), can see no "sign that the term of her long dominion is approaching." "She saw," he says, "the beginning of all the governments and of all the ecclesiastical establishments that now exist in the world; and we feel no assurance that she is not destined to see the end of them all."

"We often hear it said," he continues, "that the world is constantly advancing, is becoming more and more enlightened, and that this enlightening must be favorable to Protestantism and unfavorable to Catholicism. We wish that we could think so. But we see great reason to doubt whether this is a well-founded expectation. We see that, during the last two hundred and fifty years, the human mind has been in the highest degree active; that it has made great advances in every branch of natural philosophy; that it has produced innumerable inventions tending to promote the convenience of life; that medicine, chemistry, surgery, engineering, have been greatly improved; that government police and law have been improved, though not quite to the same extent. Yet we see that during these two hundred and fifty years Protestantism has made no conquests worth speaking of. Nay, we believe that, so far as there has been a change, that change has been in favor of the Church of Rome. Indeed, the argument which we are considering seems to us to be founded on an entire mistake. There are branches of knowledge with respect to which the law of the human mind is progress. . . . . There is no chance that, either in the demonstrative or in the purely experimental sciences, the world will ever go back or even remain stationary. . . . . But with theology the case is very different. . . . . We are confident that the world will never go back to the solar system of Ptolemy; nor is our confidence in the least shaken by the circumstance,

that even so great a man as Bacon rejected the theory of Galileo with scorn; for Bacon had not all the means of arriving at a sound conclusion which are within our reach, and which secure people who would not have been worthy to mend his pens from falling into his mistakes. But we are very differently affected when we reflect that Sir Thomas More was ready to die for the doctrine of Transubstantiation. He was a man of eminent talents. He had all the information on the subject that we have, or that, while the world lasts, any human being will have. . . . . No progress that science has made, or will make, can add to what seems to us the overwhelming force of the argument against the real presence. We are therefore unable to understand why what Sir Thomas More believed may not be believed to the end of time by men equal in ability and honesty to Sir Thomas More. But Sir Thomas More is one of the choice specimens of human wisdom and virtue; and the doctrine of Transubstantiation is a kind of proof charge. A faith which stands that test will stand any test."

It seems to me, on many accounts, important that we should not underrate the present significance and actual strength of Romanism; but chiefly on this account, because a just estimate of the power and position of that Church is necessary in order to appreciate aright the Roman Christian idea; and a right understanding of the Roman Christianity is essential to a right understanding of our own, — of Protestant Christianity as distinguished from the Roman. To know ourselves truly, we must know ourselves relatively, we must measure ourselves with others. It is good for us occasionally to collate these different versions of Christianity, and to judge ourselves by comparing the old and the new. Whatever may be our impression of the errors and corruptions of the Roman Church, it will hardly be denied that a Church which has reached such a point of command, and acquired such breadth of dominion, and, what is more, has stood its ground against such a combination of contrary forces as the two last centuries have levelled against it, has on the whole a good right to be and to thrive; that with all its corruptions there must be some sterling excellence in such a Church. There must be a good deal of truth and a good deal of virtue at the bottom of such

success. Protestants may talk about "Babylon," and all that, but a power like this never yet based itself on mere corruption. In the long run, success does not side with falsehood. God will not stand by a lie for ever; and certainly of this Church it may be said, in the old Hebrew phrase, that the Lord of Hosts hath been on her side. It is worth our while to study the elements of this success, not for the sake of adopting them, — that would be like adopting another man's eyes or nose, — but in order that we may judge correctly of the comparative merits and defects of the two systems.

One very essential element in the success of Romanism is its lofty consciousness, its ecclesiastical consciousness, the Church spirit, the sense of Divine right. Protestantism, as Mr. Martineau very justly characterizes it, "has no self-knowledge." "Possessed by a spirit which it did not understand, aiming at one thing and realizing another," it "has always mistaken its own nature and place in history." But Romanism has always understood itself, has always known its end and seen its way. Always conscious of its strength, and confident in its destiny, it has moved onward with no faltering step in the path of empire to which it conceived itself called in Him who was to have the heathen for his inheritance, and the uttermost parts of the earth for his possession. It conceives itself called to rule the nations by ruling the mind. The consciousness of such a call was manifest long before the Roman Bishop became the head of Christendom, in the early determination of the Western Church to authoritative settlements of theological questions. The genius of the East inclined to speculation, to free thought and large discourse in matters of religion. The West, ordained to deal with barbarous and unreasoning tribes, who could accept a final proposition, but could make nothing of theories, found it necessary to have opinion fixed in comprehensive and immutable statements. The Greek mind judged of truth by an intellectual standard, and would have every point philosophically legitimated; the Western judged by the standard of expediency, and wished to have all things ecclesiastically settled. Whether philosophically correct, or not, mattered little in their estimation; opinion must be canonically correct, by all means. It would have no

open questions. It had the sagacity to perceive that these questions of metaphysical theology admit of no final solution by the intellect, and that the only way to secure any show of unanimity was by a solution *ab extra;* which, if it did not satisfy the intellect, might do what was next best, — keep it in order. The long controversy between the orthodox party and the Arians, which agitated the fourth century, was in some sort a struggle between the Western and Eastern Churches, the West being mostly united on the orthodox side. It was from that quarter that the great Bishop of Alexandria derived his chief countenance and support. In fact, though all the œcumenical councils were held in Asia Minor, there is reason to believe that the prevailing influence in those councils and their decisions represented the opposite end of the Mediterranean more fully and distinctly than they did its eastern borders.

A more striking instance of this consciousness, and a very essential condition of the ecclesiastical power of Rome, is the subordination of the secular to the spiritual. This Divine order, which Christianity inaugurated almost as soon as it had governments on its side, the Roman Church has never, in principle, abandoned to this day; and the newest controversy within the limits of the Church turns on that very point. The indebtedness of mankind to the Christian Church, as a barrier against secular tyranny, has never, I think, been acknowledged to its fullest extent. Such a thing as a public censure of government was unknown in the Roman empire since the dictatorship of Cæsar, until Christians assumed the purple. The first Christians, it is true, did not *obey* the laws which compelled them to violate their conscience, but they did not criticize them. No one dreamed of criticizing government, until government, by becoming nominally Christian, became amenable to a higher law. And when Hilary of Poictiers and old Athanase fulminated their invectives against Constantius, the Roman world stood aghast at the boldness which dared to judge, where others had only learned to obey. The subordination of the secular to the spiritual was consummated, at a very early period, in the Western Empire. And such was the ascendency of the Church feeling not only over private interest, but over the moral sense, that, even

when the government acted justly, the Church overruled its decisions, if they seemed to affront its own dignity or to contradict its own interest. The Christians at Callinicum had wantonly destroyed a Jewish synagogue. The Emperor Theodosius very justly sentenced them to rebuild it at their own expense. Ambrose opposed the decree as an insult to the Christian Church, which ought not on any pretence to be made instrumental in promoting the cause of Judaism. He defended the conduct of the Christians in this act. They had only retaliated, and that very imperfectly, the ancient persecutions of the Jews. He took the responsibility upon himself, and insisted that the authors of the outrage should be held guiltless. And the ruler of the world submitted to his dictation, as he did on that other more momentous occasion, when, for eight months, the church at Milan was closed against him until he had accomplished the penance exacted by the inflexible bishop for his Thessalonian enormity.

So, when Christianity was but three centuries old, in a despotic age and under an absolute government, she ruled the rulers and dictated the action of the state. How is it now, in her nineteenth century, in a constitutional age, and under a republican government? Does Christianity rule the rulers, or take her direction from them?

In this consciousness the Roman Church possesses a power peculiar to itself. In vain has the Anglican Church in these days, and its daughter, the Episcopalian sect, in this country, aspired to the same sense of Divine right. The successful development of it in individuals has only had the effect to take them up into the elder communion.

Closely connected with the Church feeling of which I speak, and perhaps a product of it, at all events a very important constituent of the power and success of that body, is the fervent faith of its members in the articles and doctrines of their communion. We hear of the unbelief of professed Romanists among the educated classes in the European capitals. I suppose that to be somewhat exaggerated. But allowing the fact, the sceptics at most are reckoned only by hundreds, the believers by millions. And such believers! The faith of the Romanist is not, as that of the Protestant is apt to be, a

mere theoretical admission, or a practical acquiescence, but an assurance amounting to the uttermost possible degree of certitude. Said an individual of that church to a member of one of the Calvinistic churches of the city in which I live, "Why do you exclude Unitarians and Universalists from your church?" The answer was, "Because we believe them to be in error on points of vital moment in religion." "But do you know that they are wrong?" "Why, we think we have sufficient reason for believing so." "But unless you are absolutely certain, you have no right to exclude them." "How is it, then, with you?" retorted the Calvinist; "you excommunicate all Protestants without distinction." "Yes, because they are all alike wrong in matters of faith." "That is, you think so." "Not at all," said the Romanist; "there is no thinking about it; we simply *know* that you are wrong as well as we know that you are alive." Such has been in all periods the faith of Rome, — unquestioning, unreasoning, unwavering, — the faith of the will. It was faith like this that overthrew the Irminsul on the banks of the Lippe, and compelled the iron Vikingr to receive the baptism of Ansgar. It was this that motived the great reaction of the fifteenth century, that rolled back the tide of the Reformation, and secured to the Vatican the fairest portions of Europe, — France, Austria, Bavaria, Poland, Belgium, — already on the point of secession, and assigned to Protestantism an early boundary line, beyond which it has made no conquest for two hundred years.

Still another characteristic merit of the Roman Church, and another source of its peculiar power, is the preponderance which it gives to the feelings over the intellect, the ascendency it accords to the devotional over the dogmatic in religion. It addresses the sentiments more than the understanding. This is true of some Protestant sects, of the Moravian, for example, and the Methodist; but it is not true of Protestantism as a whole. Protestantism, as such, has been too theological, it has busied itself too much with points of belief, with building up systems, or with throwing down systems, to the neglect of weightier things. Romanism puts theology in the background and worship in the foreground, devotion first and theory last. Hence a characteristic excel-

lence of that Church, — let all justice be done to it, — devoutness. The Romanists as a body, it must be acknowledged, are more devout than the Protestants as a body. Grant that their devoutness is sometimes associated with loose lives. It certainly is not the source of that looseness, and in all probability makes their lives much better than they would be without it. They are more devout as a class than we are. Their churches, in the countries where that faith prevails, are always open; and every day, and almost every hour of the day, you may find there worshippers who have turned aside from their vocations to spend a few moments in prayer. And when matins or vespers sounds, you see them flocking to the church which is nearest the scene of their labor, in the guise and condition in which the summons finds them, — the laborer with his frock and his *sabots*, the maid with her basket or pail placed beside her as she kneels, the mother with her babe at her breast, the child, like Goethe's Margaret, "*Halb Kinderspiel, halb Gott im Herzen.*" There they kneel, while the din of the world, heard faintly without, like the breaking of the distant surf, gives one the feeling of an island of sanctity in a wild, roaring, godless sea; and the solemn aisles and vast spaces, dwarfing the human figure, supply a new and solemn perspective to human life; and the "antique pillars' massy proof," and the plaintive chanting of the priests, and the curling incense, and the sculptured saints and "ever-dying" martyrs, produce an impression of unearthly and eternal reality projected into this mortal, which no other experience awakens in a like degree.

I said Romanism addresses itself to the sentiments. Not only so, it addresses itself to the senses and the sensuous understanding. It speaks to a grade and condition of mind, which, with all our education-theories and means for the diffusion of knowledge, will probably, while the world stands, be the condition of a very considerable portion of mankind. It reaches minds of this class by a shorter method than ours. Instead of cold abstractions, it gives them sensible images; it deals in the concrete, it puts things for words. It does not descant on Transubstantiation, but uplifts the consecrated wafer and bids the people kneel to the *præsens numen* in the host. It does not discuss the subject of

Atonement, but puts a crucifix before them wherever they go, "by the way, in the places of the paths." It does not argue the question of intercession, but points them to the Virgin

> "Mother blest
> To whom, caressing and caressed,
> Clings the eternal child."

It does not philosophize on the efficacy of prayer, but puts a string of beads in their hands, and tells them, so many Aves for this thing, and so many Pater-Nosters for that.

Another thing which that Church does, and to which it is also greatly indebted for its influence with the people, is this. It establishes an intimate relation with the whole of life. It does not dismiss its disciples at the door of the church, but follows them to their homes with its ordinances and its sacraments. It entwines itself with their whole existence, from the cradle to the grave, and even follows them beyond the grave with masses for the dead. It presides over their waking and their sleeping, over their business and their board, and over their very amusements, which it cares for with a thoughtfulness that considers and consults all the wants of earth-born man. At home and abroad its eye is upon them, its banner is over them, its symbols attend them.

When to these elements of power we add the masterly policy which, by universal confession, has always distinguished that Church, we see abundant cause for her past successes, and abundant probability of still further triumphs.

I have set before you the good side and the strong side of Romanism; not as having any sympathy with it, but partly because Protestant Christians, for the most part, have unphilosophically and illiberally ignored the good in that communion, in their rage against the false; and partly because it seems to me necessary to a right appreciation of our own theological position, that we should know and measure correctly those forms of Christianity which differ most from our own.

We can afford to do justice to Romanism; we have nothing to fear from it. If we understand ourselves, if we have thoroughly digested our own idea, we have nothing to fear from it. That Church is destined to endure for many generations, and to make new con-

quests, and to realize vast possessions in this American world; but not, I am persuaded, — not in its present form and with its old pretensions, — to supplant the Protestant idea or to check the Protestant spirit. For Protestantism, too, has an historical right to be. The Reformation is a great world-fact, second only in importance to the planting of Christianity by the Apostles. It was no fortuitous encounter, it was no momentary explosion, it was the sacred fire-heart of the German race, strong as the earth's core, that opened that vent in the old corruption. And that will always find vent for itself through all the layers which custom and falsehood may heap upon it. The crater may shift from age to age, but the fire is still there; and Rome will no more extinguish it than she will put out Vesuvius. "It is strong as death, and steadfast as the grave. Many waters cannot quench it, neither can the floods drown it."

With all her advantages and merits, the Church of Rome is burdened with such fatal and damning defects, as, while they remain, must utterly preclude the universal dominion of that religion. What may happen, if ever those defects should be reformed, is another question. I have left myself no time to discuss those defects, I can only indicate them. And I say first, this Church sins by divorcing religion from morality; therein directly contradicting the Gospel, which aims to blend the two and make them one and inseparable. In saying this, I do not deny nor forget the fact, that thousands and hundreds of thousands of the purest, noblest, and most sinless characters which the world has known have been born and nurtured within the bosom of that Church. I only maintain that Rome, in her policy, does not regard morality as an end, and religion as a means to that end; but makes the *Church* the one great, absorbing end, to which all other considerations and interests, and (unless she is greatly belied) moral principle itself, must be offered up.

As radical vices of Romanism, I cite further its sacerdotism, — the dominion of a priestly caste; its excessive formalism, its intolerance, its jealousy of science, and its hostility to social progress.

We have seen the strength of Romanism, here we see its unmistakable weakness. And here, too, we see

where our own strength lies. In those points in which the old Church fails, the new excels. The term Protestantism, as used to designate the Christianity of the Reformation, is on some accounts an unfortunate one. It expresses what was transient and momentary in that form of Christianity, not what is immanent. It expresses negation. But Protestantism is more than negation. It was my intention in taking up this subject to have unfolded to you the positive side of Protestantism. But the argument has unexpectedly taken another direction, and that purpose must remain unfulfilled. But this let me say, that the history of Protestantism teaches, — what indeed its theory, if it has any, avows, — that Christianity is progressive, that the true Church is not that stark, stiff, stolid immobility which Rome would have it, but a progressive self-unfolding of the Spirit through successive bodies or churches, from life to life. The theory of progressive development is the key to ecclesiastical history. It is the only theory which will solve the strange contradictions of the Christian ages, and justify the ways of the Spirit in the modes of each time. It is the only theory by which the history of Christianity can approve itself as providential. Why, if this dispensation is of God, and if, as we believe, our plain Unitarian doctrine was the evangelical type of Christian theology, — why for so many centuries have Athanasian and Augustinian views had possession of the Christian mind? Why, if Congregationalism, as we believe, was the primitive form of the Christian communities, — why through all the periods of mediæval history, and before and after, have other polities, prelatical and hierarchical, usurped its place? "Perversion" and "corruption" are the words which most readily occur, when these questions are asked. But they do not satisfy me. I want to know why on this supposition God gave a revelation, and then virtually withdrew it; why the truth was shown, and then hidden again, and hidden so long. One of the strongest arguments in support of Christianity, — a divinely originated and authorized Christianity, — it has been considered, is the necessity of such a revelation to meet the moral and spiritual wants of mankind. This was the purpose of God in bestowing it. Now, if we say that Chris-

tianity, as we have it, is the only true Christianity, then we confess that that purpose was frustrated during a third of the time through which human history extends, and so deprive that argument of nearly all its force. I find the solution of this enigma in the word *development;*— development from a ritual and partial religion to a spiritual and universal one; from a system demanded by mediæval conditions to one of ampler scope, adapted to full-aged man. No form of Christianity is absolutely and only true. Each successive one was right in its place, and good in its season; each put forward the face, and embodied the truth, which the time required. To say that a system which for more than a thousand years was the prevailing system of the Christian world, was a mere fraud, a pure invention foisted on the Gospel by human ingenuity, as our school criticism has very coolly pronounced it, seems to me a little monstrous. I cannot help hesitating at such a judgment, when I consider all that is implied in it, with regard to the Author of Christianity, and his connection with the Church. I do not see what becomes of the promised Spirit, on this supposition, or what becomes of Christ's presence with his followers to the end of the world. Not a human invention, I should say, but a phase which, in the order of Providence, and under the guidance of God's Spirit, Christianity was made to assume for its own behoof and the spiritual needs of mankind.

But now we have come out of that, we have outgrown it, we have no more need of it, and in Christ's name, with the leave of the Church, or without her leave, if need be, we will put it off. Protestantism says this, first of all, and defends it. Protestantism means movement. And when we say this, we pronounce its justification, we pronounce its eulogy. For what but movement is the destination of man in this moving world? Creation moves from everlasting to everlasting. This universe of things, whose sum no thought can grasp, is not a fixture, but a movement; the free self-movement of the eternal mind. All life is movement, and the quantity of movement is the measure of vitality. He who moves all things with his thought has not willed that any spirit should stand still. And the Church, the communion of spirits, must move or die. When, therefore,

a church claims to be stationary, and makes it its vaunt, — contrasting its own immobility with the changes all around it, — that it stands unmoved in the flood of things, that its doctrine and discipline have been the same from age to age, it mistakes the aim of religion and the calling of the spirit; and that which it urges as its glory is truly its shame.

Herself progressive, Protestant Christianity tolerates progress in all things, and easily adjusts herself with it. She cultivates friendly relations with science and the arts of life, with the popular cause, and all the movements of society. She has no quarrel with the light, and no occasion to shut it out. She does not contract her pupil in the noonday of modern discoveries, nor complain to the moon

> "Of such as, wandering near her *secret* bower,
> Molest her ancient, solitary reign."

Herein consists the strength of Protestantism, socially and politically, that it stands abreast with the world, it accepts the time and is accepted by it. It joins hands with popular governments, concurs with advancing humanity, and conspires with Freedom for individual growth and self-culture. This is its strength. Its weakness, one would say, is its schismatic tendency, its strong inclination to sever and secede, — the apparent preponderance in it of the centrifugal over the centripetal power. This has usually been regarded as its weak side. I have been accustomed so to regard it myself. But if Protestantism be essentially true in principle and spirit, this tendency, which constitutes so essential an element of Protestant Christianity, must be compatible somehow with its perpetuity and success. It is true, the centrifugal appears to predominate in it, when compared with Rome, — Rome being one, and Protestantism many. And yet the opposite tendency is also in it, or it would not have lived until now. Each fragment successively thrown off aims at wholeness, and rounds itself into shape, and revolves with the rest around the central sun, and draws its life from the Lord.

There is reason to believe that the process of separation is about complete; and though at present no decided tendency to recombination and consolidation appears, a movement in that direction among the Prot-

estant sects may not unreasonably be expected in the order of the spirit's progressive life, — the centripetal affection again prevailing; as, according to some, the planetary systems in our firmament are drawing together, and will finally coalesce into one.

I believe, according to the creed of an elder age, in the "Holy Catholic Church." I believe that such a church, as a visible earthly reality, is possible. I believe there is a foundation for it in human nature, and a promise of it in the Gospel; I believe it to be the destined consummation of our religion; a spiritual bond by which all men shall be one in Christ and one with God; a church combining the greatest liberty with the greatest union, consulting and conciliating all the wants of the spirit, gathering up and directing all our powers in a service which shall be the united action of all for the good of all.

Whether the Roman Church, putting off its corruptions, will ever expand into that, whether the Protestant sects, forgetting their differences, will ever merge into that, are questions whose answer is reposited in the deep mind of God, and not to be drawn thence by human foresight.

Meanwhile the question for us is, What can we do, what ought we to do, to maintain and promote the Protestant Christian idea and interest, in view of the growing strength and rapidly increasing spread of Romanism in our land and in the world? What can we do to develop and establish the true Church? We can do but this, — work in our place, work in our own church, and working, hope; work in a large spirit while we work in a small body, and seek catholic ends in the service of an insignificant and feeble sect.

We may congratulate ourselves, Gentlemen and fellow-laborors, as Congregationalists, as Unitarian Congregationalists (for in Unitarianism the Congregational principle is more fully realized than elsewhere), — we may congratulate ourselves on occupying a favorable position in the controversy between Roman and Protestant. We stand on the vantage-ground of a simple and intelligible principle, fully carried out. "Either you are right," said a Roman Bishop to a Unitarian preacher, "or I am right; there is no consistent position between us." As Protestants of the Protes-

tants, we represent the Protestant idea in its last development and fullest extent. There is no tenable or defensible ground between reason applied to the interpretation of Christianity, and Rome.

We may congratulate ourselves on the steady progress of our communion, from year to year, and on the hold which our principles have gained on thoughtful minds beyond the limits of that communion. What we most want, as a body, is greater compactness and union among ourselves. We want more of the corporate spirit, a stronger sense of our denominational mission and calling, and through that of our relation with the Church Universal. I suppose there is no denomination of Christians in which there is so little of this spirit, so little concentration, so little care for their own commonweal and its success. This I consider a fault in our connection, the result sometimes of a daintiness which refuses to mix with the mass in any movement, or to let itself be used for any common end; and sometimes the result of an insensibility which ignores the obligation laid upon every believer, in some way to coöperate for the maintenance and promotion of Christian truth. But why coöperate in this particular way, through this connection, or any connection? Why league with a sect? Let every man give forth his own word on his own responsibility, independent of all sectarian alliance. Consulting only his own genius, let him cast his thought and action into the time, neither seeking the sanction nor heeding the resistance of any body whose system it may happen to favor or contradict. By all means! God forbid that any sincere word should be suppressed by the ban of a church or the censorship of a sect; that any soul should be so hampered by association, as to fail of its legitimate influence on the time; that any one who, like Paul, conceives himself to have his call, not from men, but from Christ direct, should not have the same liberty with Paul of not conferring "with flesh and blood," nor going "up to Jerusalem to them which were apostles before" him, but preaching his own Gospel in his own way. There is no danger that he will not have it. When God calls an apostle, He will see to it that his mouth is not stopped.

But for those of us who can hardly claim an apos-

tolic commission in this sense, the question is, How shall we most effectually promote the cause of truth and the kingdom of Christ? I say, by association, by joining with those who are nearest to us in theological or ecclesiastical position; by connecting ourselves with that one of the various ecclesiastical bodies for which, on the whole, we have the strongest affinity, although our affinity with it may be very imperfect, as in the case of a free and original mind it always must be. Even Paul was obliged to do this at last. He either could not, or from conscientious conviction would not, maintain to the end the position of uncompromising individuality with which he began. Compare the Epistle to the Galatians with the later Epistles, and see the change. He was stronger than any one of his Christian contemporaries; but the Church, combined, was stronger than he, and swept him in.

Christianity is once for all committed to churches and sects and organizations. That is a foregone decision, which we cannot reverse if we would. And the action and success of Christianity, at any given time, must depend on the vigor, the soundness, and prosperity of the various sects which represent Christianity at that time. Such being the case, it seems to me the duty of every one, who has the cause of Christianity at heart, to throw the weight of his influence into that denomination of Christians with which he can best adjust himself, and in which he can work with the best faith, to the best effect; to incorporate himself with it, to become an organic part of it, and, by sympathetic coaction, to give it all the impulse, aid, and support in his power.

As a sect, we want concentration, sympathy, the organic strength which comes from a common feeling and a common aim. I would that all the nominal members of our body might realize and make good their membership by frank consent and hearty coöperation. In our limited connection, we cannot spare one voice or heart or hand that might fairly be claimed as ours. And with us there is less excuse for standing aloof from the body to which we properly belong, than there is in other communions, from the fact that we impose no formulas or confessions of faith, and that those who belong to us by general sympathy and agreement of

views need not be repelled by dissent on minor points, and are not required to do violence to their convictions, in coöperating with a sect with no one of whose members, perhaps, they entirely agree. This absence of formulas is another important advantage which we possess, and which, if we are wise, we shall not rashly abandon. We lose nothing by want of uniformity. The truths of the Gospel will shape themselves differently to different minds. They gain no additional value or power by being grouped into creeds; as the stars are no brighter, and no more, for being mapped and constellated into those arbitrary figures which a plain man is puzzled to make out after he is told that they are there. Besides, we must not falsify our history; we must not act unhistorically, on pain of losing our real significance, and forfeiting a characteristic principle, without any certainty of an adequate compensation for so doing.

But while we avoid dogmatic impositions, let us gather more closely and unitedly around those ideas which we hold in common, and which we are called to represent; offering a solid, serried front to error and pretence in the Church and in the world. I have no faith in any measures or devices for creating a union and a sympathy which do not exist. But I would we might so ponder our place and calling, as to feel ourselves drawn into nearer communion and closer polity, and more effective action; and have a consciousness waked up in us which has not yet been.

We, brethren, as ministers, have a duty in this matter, beyond our special sphere and our daily work. We owe a duty to the time, to the Church Universal, above all, to the truth; a threefold duty, as old Melancthon defined it to the Clerus of his day. The ministers of the Gospel, he says, God has chosen to be the "keepers of the prophetic and apostolic books and the true doctrines of the Church." "Quare diligentiam et fidem, in re omnium maxima, Deo, ecclesiæ, et posteritati præstemus. Veritatem inquiramus, amemus, tueamur."

NOTICES OF RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

The Creed of Christendom; its Foundations and Superstructure. By WILLIAM RATHBONE GREG. London: John Chapman. 1851. 8vo. pp. xx. and 307.

THIS book is compounded of Strauss's Life of Jesus, and Parker's Discourse of Religion. It is more plausible, attractive, and dangerous than either, the absurdity of the former being somewhat modified by the leaven of Anglo-Saxon good sense, and the irreverence of the latter kept under the control of a purer taste and a more respectful deference to the religious sensibilities of Christians. But it is no less than either an embodiment of complete and destructive infidelity. In its details it not only shuns originality, but is composed in a great measure of express quotations, of which the two above-named writers furnish a conspicuous portion. In its aggregate, it displays great ingenuity and no mean modicum of talent; for its method is comprehensive, its discussion exhaustive, and its arrangement eminently adapted to cloak its fallacies and to give point to its reasonings. The author commences with the easy task of demolishing the untenable dogma of plenary verbal inspiration. In treating of the various modifications of this doctrine, he wholly ignores the theory towards which rational believers of all Christian sects are rapidly gravitating, — that which regards the Scriptures as the authentic record of a series of Divine revelations. He next assails the credibility of the Old Testament, depriving it of the support which it receives from its connection with the Christian religion and Scriptures, and laying chief stress on those deficiencies in its external evidence which necessarily result from the remote antiquity of its authorship, and from the non-existence of such sources of proof as are available only for more recent records, but which are more than counterbalanced by the collective testimony of the Hebrew nation, and by internal marks of authenticity and divinity, such as can be "known and read of all men." His treatment of prophecy is singularly disingenuous. From the doubt that rests on the precise date of some of the prophetical writings, he argues, or rather affirms, that those which contain fulfilled predictions were all written subsequently to the events which they describe, though he proposes no solution, either for the adoption of the future tense in narratives of the past, or for the admission of books so absurdly written to the most sacred place in a nation's reverence. He is silent with regard to the many existing monuments of fulfilled

prophecy in the present condition of the Jews, of Tyre, of Idumæa, and of Babylon.

As to the New Testament, Mark and Luke are disqualified as witnesses to the life of Christ, because they were not Apostles, and Matthew and John on account of the long interval which elapsed between the death of Jesus and the composition of their Gospels; though in fact the best critics assign to the Gospel of Matthew a date but little subsequent to the crucifixion. Then the slight discrepancies of the Gospels, which only prove their mutual independence, and thus their general authenticity, are drawn out in their fullest array and in artificially magnified forms, while the omissions of each of the Evangelists are held as conclusive evidence that the events recorded by the others never occurred. Great use is made of the different complexion of John's Gospel from that of the other three; and we for the first time learn from this author, (it is almost the only original idea in his book,) that the narrative of the beloved disciple is "decidedly inferior in moral sublimity and purity to the other representations of Christ's teachings which have come down to us"! The various tests of credibility applied by Mr. Greg to single events are such as might easily prove all history a fable. Supernatural narratives are suspicious; for the biography of any illustrious person is prone to slide into the marvellous and the legendary. Incidents not strictly in keeping with our notions of what should have occurred are attended with an improbability which testimony cannot remove. Incidents in themselves probable are such as could hardly have failed to suggest themselves to the imagination of the writers, and we cannot, therefore, be sure that they had their counterpart in fact. Where time and place are distinctly marked, that very precision bears a legendary aspect in writers not literally journalists. Where time and place are not given, the authors of course were ignorant of the *when* and the *where*, and therefore could have had no accurate knowledge of the fact. Long discourses were too long to have been remembered, and consequently were fabrications. Short sayings are given with some verbal difference by the several Evangelists; and, as all the transcripts cannot be literally accurate, neither can be virtually so. John's Gospel is so filled with the phantasms of the special mission and the Divine Sonship of Jesus, as to be wholly unreliable. The other three Evangelists so manifestly fell short of a full appreciation of Christ's teachings, that it is difficult to say how far they are to be depended upon. Yet their narratives leave us no room to doubt that Jesus of Nazareth was a wise and a benevolent man, who like Socrates lived to make men better, and like him was a martyr to a standard of theology and morality higher than that of his nation. The Apostles supposed that he rose from the

dead, and thought that they saw him, nor is it easy to explain their delusion; but they, unlike our author, "were not men of critical, inquiring, or doubting minds, nor accustomed to sift or scutinize testimony."

Christianity, then, is not a Divine revelation in any other sense than that in which Platonism is. The communication of truth from without, from above, is impossible. Innate truth alone can be believed. The only infallible gospel is that written on the heart, and that is its own sufficient evidence. Christianity is in part conformed to this native faith of the heart, and in part irrational and incredible. The doctrines of the efficacy of prayer and of the remission of sin are pronounced absurd, and the Christian grounds of resignation are declared to be utterly unsubstantial. In his concluding chapter, the author goes beyond the range of revealed religion, to show the worthlessness of all the arguments which natural theology can offer in behalf of a future life, — a dogma which is left without any proof beyond the instinctive feeling that we shall live again.

It is, if we remember aright, in one of Smollett's novels, that a naval commander, left without a chaplain or a prayer-book at the opening of an engagement, offered the only form of prayer that he could recall to his memory, — the chaplain's usual "grace before meat," — "For what we are about to receive may the Lord make us thankful." With as little seeming congruity, we can express our sincere thankfulness for this assault upon our Christian faith, and for several good and sufficient reasons.

1. In the first place, we are reminded how long it is since the canon of infidelity was closed. Unbelievers of our own day can find nothing new. This book contains not a single argument or objection which has not been refuted and vanquished time and time again. Meanwhile the mass of Christian evidence is increasing from age to age; and every discovery of science, every added measure of knowledge, every new phasis of human experience, brings its contribution to illustrate the doctrines or accredit the records of our faith.

2. We deem it a ground for gratitude, that infidelity itself has grown reverent, and seeks shelter under the wings of Christianity. A sense of the beauty and majesty of Christ's character, and of the excellence of his teachings, has so pervaded the heart of civilized humanity, that it can no longer bear the ribaldry of the Voltaire and the Tom Paine school. Deists of the lowest grade, nay, very Pantheists, still cling to the name of *Christian* as "the highest style of man."

3. We are thankful for our author's admission, that, "in consequence of this view [i. e. his view] of Christianity, a future life becomes to us no longer a matter of positive knowledge, — a revealed fact, — but simply a matter of faith, of hope, of earnest desire; a

sublime possibility, round which meditation and inquiry will collect all the probabilities they can." We are glad to find one infidel of intelligence and ability, who admits that the denial of historical Christianity is fatal to an assured belief in human immortality. We cling to the "positive knowledge." We repose upon the "revealed fact." Nor is it among the least of the grounds on which we believe in the Christ that died, rose again, and ascended to heaven, that he "alone has the words of eternal life."

A Greek Grammar for the Use of High Schools and Universities. By PHILIP BUTTMANN. Revised and enlarged by his Son, ALEXANDER BUTTMANN. Translated from the Eighteenth German Edition, by EDWARD ROBINSON. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1851. 8vo. pp. xii. and 517.

IN contradistinction to this, Buttmann published the first two volumes of an "*Ausführliche Sprachlehre*," or "Copious Grammar" of the Greek language, but did not live to complete the syntax. The story of that larger work has almost a mythological sound to American ears; — we rejoice that there is among us enough of thorough scholarship, or the desire for it, to authorize the publication of the book before us. It embodies in a condensed form the life's toil of the elder Buttmann, enriched by the filial piety of the younger, and not only perfectly translated by Professor Robinson, but, in all its details of form, arrangement, and indices, admirably adapted to all purposes of use and reference. We can conceive of nothing that a Greek grammar ought to contain, which is not found in this. It will be also of essential aid to the classical and Biblical critic, through the numerous exegetical hints which occur on almost every page. Most of our American editions of the classics and preparatives for their study are adapted to lower the Transatlantic standard of liberal culture to the demands of a hurried and over-crowded novitiate; — this book is fitted to elevate our standard towards that of the author's own fatherland.

Dictionary of Sacred Quotations; or, Scripture Themes and Thoughts, as paraphrased by the Poets. Selected and arranged by Rev. H. HASTINGS WELD, Rector of St. James's Church, Downington, Penn. Philadelphia: Lindsay & Blakiston. 1851. 12mo. pp. 456.

THIS book displays an extraordinary degree of literary diligence and skill; nor could it have been compiled except by one who was himself a Christian scholar and poet. The subjects are

well chosen and happily arranged. There are extracts from more than three hundred poets, many of them hardly known by name to common readers. On first turning over the leaves of the volume, we were disappointed at missing some poetical gems that are known and quoted by everybody; but on second thought we concluded that the space which they would have filled was much better occupied by the rare specimens of verse which Mr. Weld has drawn from poets of too ancient or too recent date to be generally accessible. We predict for the work a permanent place on the tables of all such as love to vary the pedestrian march of their own prose by mounting now and then on a borrowed Pegasus.

English Songs, and other small Poems. By BARRY CORNWALL. A new and enlarged Edition. Boston: Ticknor, Reed, & Fields. 1851. 16mo. pp. xxviii. and 387.

THIS is the most complete edition of Mr. Procter's poems that has yet been published, either in England or in this country. It comprises, indeed, nearly twice as many pieces as the first American edition, and contains about forty of his earlier songs which are not embraced in the last English edition.

Mr. Procter is doubtless one of the most popular lyric poets of the day; and the sensuous beauty of many of his pieces is hardly surpassed in the productions of any of his contemporaries. With great warmth and liveliness of fancy and an ardent and enthusiastic temperament, he unites considerable strength of imagination and rhythmical power. Most of his songs, however, bear marks of haste in composition, which injures their artistic effect, while it probably renders them a more exact transcript of the poet's feelings than they would have been if more carefully elaborated. This defect is easily traced in the irregular versification and obscurity of expression of some of them, which would otherwise have been among the most beautiful in the collection. Yet for tenderness and pathos they are unsurpassed. In truth, no poet of our times seems more truly to have appreciated, or more skilfully to have expressed, the language of the kindly affections in their various phases. Here is one of his chief excellences, and the quality which has probably contributed most to his popularity. Our poet seems always to write from his heart, and under whatever mood he writes, he is always true to himself. But his excellence is not confined to his love songs, though a large part of his reputation certainly rests on them. Many of his short descriptive poems are marked by exquisite grace and beauty. The Dramatic Fragments, however, are his finest pro-

ductions. They are alike admirable in conception and in their epigrammatic conciseness. When we read them we cannot help feeling a deep regret, that one possessing such high powers as we readily discern in them should not leave some more elaborate work to keep his name in remembrance.

The Serpent Symbol and the Worship of the Reciprocal Principles of Nature in America. By E. G. Squier, A. M., Foreign Member of the British Archæological Association, etc., etc. New York: G. P. Putnam. 1851. 8vo. pp. 254.

The scope and design of this work are not fully conveyed in its title. It might justly have been styled, An Exposition of the Philosophy of Symbolism as applied to Ideas of Religion. The researches of Mr. Squier make it apparent that various nations and races of men, on both hemispheres, have exhibited a remarkable concurrence in their choice of symbols to express their conceptions of a creative power. The sun, the phallic emblem, the egg, and the serpent have been invested with a sacred significancy in every quarter of the globe. With regard to the first three of these symbols, this concurrence need not greatly surprise us. The sun, animating all nature with his vivifying beams, might well typify the beneficent energy of a life-giving God. The phallus would bear a kindred meaning, yet more direct and obvious; while the egg, containing within itself the principles of undeveloped life, would aptly represent the world in its chaotic or primordial state. The significancy of the serpent symbol is by no means so apparent; and that numerous and widely separated nations should concur in regarding it as sacred, and in making it, conjointly with the sun, an object of adoration, is a fact which opens a vast field to speculation and research.

The facts collected in this work point to the conclusion, that the polytheism of the heathen world is often in close affinity with simple monotheism. Beyond many polytheistic systems, we may discern the vague conception of one Supreme Being, whose various attributes, impersonated and represented as deities, form the multiplied gods of the Pantheon. Thus some of the religious systems of the East present from one point of view the aspect of monotheism, while from another they resolve themselves into all the mystic entanglements of a complicated polytheism.

In entering upon his task, the author has endeavored to lay aside every preconsidered opinion, and to prosecute his researches in a free spirit of philosophical inquiry. The conclusions to which his investigations tend will prove to minds of a

certain cast startling, bewildering, and painful, while thinkers of a different stamp will discover in them fresh proof of the fundamental truths of religion. To test the accuracy of Mr. Squier's deductions would demand a degree of zeal, acuteness, and diligence not inferior to that which he himself has devoted to his work. The subject involves interests too momentous to be lightly dealt with.

The volume before us is the first of a forthcoming series on American Archæology from the pen of Mr. Squier, and embodying materials which he has been engaged several years in collecting. His previous works on this subject afford an ample earnest of the value of what is to follow.

Philosophy of the Plan of Salvation. A Book for the Times, by an American Citizen. With an Introductory Essay, by Calvin E. Stowe, D. D. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. 1851. 12mo. pp. 239.

This book is an attempt to explain and justify the method and course in which the Christian religion was revealed. It aims to combat the objections and meet the demands of sceptics, by showing the remarkable adaptedness of the preparatory Jewish dispensation to the spiritual necessities of the time and the case, and the complete adaptedness of Christianity to the condition and nature of man. It contains many thoughts which are ingenious, clearly stated, valuable, and suggestive. It may be read with interest and profit, although it is not entirely free from the objectionable artifices and perversities of Calvinism. Judging it by a high philosophical and literary standard, the merits of this production are not great; judging it by the average character of the works of its kind, they are. The Introductory Essay by Dr. Stowe is a little paper presenting a most important and unquestionable moral truth, — that the spirit of a person's character largely controls the proper influence of evidence, — with striking vividness and beauty.

William Penn, an Historical Biography. With an Extra Chapter on "The Macaulay Charges." By William Hepworth Dixon. With a Portrait. London: Chapman & Hall. 1851. 12mo. pp. 457.

So far as regards a biography of William Penn, this work of Mr. Dixon's is all that could be desired. He has had at his service several new sources of information, authentic and highly

valuable. The founder of Pennsylvania is brought before us as a most excellent man, whose purposes were always pure, who contributed largely to the good of others, and who is worthily identified with the struggling fortunes of an honored Christian sect, and with the day of small things in a now prosperous commonwealth. But Mr. Dixon evidently thinks that his "Extra Chapter" is the strong part of his book; and in this we think that he has made a great mistake. In our opinion, he would have done a far wiser thing if he had wholly omitted it. With one exception, an important one indeed, which we shall presently mention, we consider its contents worthless. Mr. Dixon's treatment of Macaulay is insolent and abusive. Should the great historian make a rejoinder, he could easily annihilate his rude critic. It is well known to every impartial person, who has made a study of Penn's life and character, that, with all his singleness of heart, his benevolence, disinterestedness, and high religious principle, he still had in him the ingredient of vanity, and loved to exercise his power in patronizing. Circumstances had given him influence with the Duke of York, afterwards James the Second. Penn's father, who left his son a large pecuniary claim on the government, had been the companion of the Duke in naval service. William had undoubtedly a sort of power with James, and while he would be constantly called upon to exercise it for and in behalf of others, and while his weakness would dispose him to a readiness to do so, he could not use it without making enemies and drawing suspicion on himself. Perhaps Mr. Macaulay may have exaggerated all the facts which bear on this point. We think that he has treated Penn with too much rhetorical severity, and has done him a degree of wrong, in one particular especially. But Mr. Dixon has certainly not accomplished what he intended, and if he had done so, it would not justify the violent coarseness with which he has assailed Mr. Macaulay. We can give but the briefest sketch of the point at issue.

Mr. Dixon makes five specifications of the "Macaulay Charges."

1. "That Penn's conection with the court, in 1684, while he lived at Kensington, caused his own sect to look coldly on him, and even treat him with obloquy."

Quoting Macaulay to this effect, Mr. Dixon adds: —

"His *only* authority for this statement is Gerard Croese, a Dutchman, *who never was in England in his life*, and whose work the Society of Friends has never recognized."

This statement, which attempts correction, is itself full of errors. The Quakers have recognized the value of Croese's History, and Mr. Dixon himself frequently quotes him. Among the references which Mr. Dixon makes to Croese (p. 290), is the

very passage which Mr. Macaulay quotes to authenticate the above assertion, and from that passage it appears that Croese *had been in England*, for he says, "*I have seen* at times not less than two hundred suitors," etc. — "*Vidi quandoque de hoc genere hominum non minus bis centum.*" Nor is Croese the only authority quoted to this point by Macaulay; for in another note (Harper's edition, Vol. II. p. 272) he also quotes Bonrepaux, an intelligent and shrewd Frenchman about the English court, thus (we translate the passage): —

"Penn, the leader of the Quakers, who is known to be in the interest of the king of England, is so severely decried among those of his own party, that they have no longer any confidence in him."

So much for the first specification.

2. The second charge is, that Penn acted as agent for the maids of honor in "extorting money" from some girls at Taunton who had wrought a standard and joined in a procession for the rebel Monmouth. Mr. Macaulay had reiterated this charge against William Penn, after Sir James Mackintosh.

It now appears probable, as Mr. Dixon shows, that the agent in this discreditable business was a certain *George Penne*, a hireling hanger-on about the court, ready for such work. But, as we shall soon make appear, Mr. Dixon is not entitled to the honor of discovering the true culprit in this case.

3. The third "Macaulay Charge" is, —

"That Penn allowed himself to be employed in the work of seducing Kiffin into a compliance with court designs."

In dealing with this charge, Mr. Dixon misrepresents both Mr. Macaulay's statement and the facts of the case, and in his quotations from Kiffin's Memoirs suppresses the passages which confirm all that Mr. Macaulay asserts.

4. The fourth charge is, —

"That Penn endeavored to gain William's assent to the promulgated edict suspending the penal laws."

Supposing that he did this, for the sake of relieving all Dissenters, is there any great harm in it?

5. The final charge is, —

"That Penn 'did his best to seduce' the Magdalen collegians 'from the path of right,' and was 'a broker in simony of a peculiarly discreditable kind.'"

The amount of Macaulay's imputation on Penn in this matter is, that he tried to persuade Dr. Hough to comply with the wishes of King James by hinting at the prospect of a *bishopric*. Now this fact is stated by Hough himself in a letter (Wilmot's Life of Hough). This letter Mr. Dixon garbles, and in order to dispose of the assertion by the Doctor, that Penn smilingly hinted to

him, "If the Bishop of Oxford die, Dr. Hough may be made bishop," Mr. Dixon supposes Penn to have been *joking*.

So stands the issue betwen Mr. Dixon and Mr. Macaulay. The character of Penn is left with us as it was before we read either writer. He had a weak point, and he loved to exercise patronage. Mr. Macaulay judged him uncharitably, and the rhetoric of this splendid author here, as in other cases, impairs his justice. Mr. Dixon is vain, boastful, pretentious, and disingenuous. We have hinted that he only at second hand rectifies the one important matter regarding the agent with the Taunton girls. The simple truth is, that, though Mr. Dixon pretends to have made great researches in reference to the "Macaulay Charges," *he is indebted for every line and every fact and authority with which he meets them, to a pamphlet published two years ago*, by Mr. W. E. Forster, a member of the Society of Friends. With not the slightest hint of his obligation to this pamphlet, Mr. Dixon only refers to it in a note, and then, with a great parade of exactness, merely to correct an error, not of Mr. Forster, but of his printer.

The Religion of Geology and its connected Sciences. By Edward Hitchcock, D. D., LL. D., President of Amherst College, and Professor of Natural Theology and Geology. Boston: Phillips, Sampson, & Co.. 1851. 12mo. pp. 511.

This book is to be regarded as a medium for acquainting, and to some extent for reconciling, the so-called *Evangelical* communion of Christians with the state of the issue between geology, as interpreted by science, and the letter of Scripture, according to the old theory of inspiration. It exhibits a painful collision between the author's knowledge and his wish to adhere to some tenets which are apparently inconsistent with it. We by no means consider the issue which is dealt with in this book as settled against the Old Testament in favor of any geological theory. What with the range of interpretation justly to be demanded for ancient Oriental records, and the very fickle character of our scientific theories, we find no very great trial of our faith in the actual state of things as regards this matter. There are some admirable passages in Dr. Hitchcock's volume, showing a breadth of view and a power of delineation suited to his high theme. If we were examining his work at length, as we may do at some future period, we should have to make some suggestions which are not called for here.

First Impressions of England and its People. By HUGH MILLER. Author of "The Footprints of the Creator," "The Old Red Sandstone," &c. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. 1851. 12mo. pp. 430.

MR. MILLER by no means turns his back in this volume upon the themes and subjects which first made him known to the literary public. On the contrary, there are many delightful passages in these pages which bring before us the true lover and the keen observer of nature. "The Silurian, Carboniferous, and Oolitic periods," are not slighted by him whenever he has occasion to mention them. But an occasional way-side remark, an historical reminiscence, a keen-pointed suggestion, and, above all, a genial spirit suffused over the whole book, will make it to general readers the most attractive book relating to England which they can find.

The Philosophy of Mathematics. Translated from the Cours de Philosophie Positive of AUGUSTE COMTE, *by* W. M. GILLESPIE, Professor in Union College. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1851. 8vo. pp. 260.

WE have already given in our pages an extended view of the whole work of Comte, of which we have here one portion translated from the French. This does not present exactly what is called the poetry of mathematics, though from turning over its pages we find the elements of beauty and grandeur set forth in a way to need only an exercise, not of the imagination, but of sober and extended thought, to fill the mind with the essentials of poetry. The author aims to present a comprehensive view of the whole wide region of mathematical science, and to define its laws.

A History of Greece, from the Earliest Times to the Destruction of Corinth, B. C. 146; mainly based upon that of CONNOP THIRLWALL, D. D. By DR. LEONARD SCHMITZ, F. R. S. E. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1851. 12mo. pp. 541.

BOTH Thirlwall's and Grote's Histories are too voluminous for the most extended use, even in these reading times. Yet the elucidations which the last fifty years have made, and which they have incorporated in their large works, have essentially changed the aspect of Grecian themes and annals. This compilation will, therefore, have its value, and will undoubtedly move some of its readers to grapple with the original works.

Prometheus Bound, and other Poems: including Sonnets from the Portuguese, Casa Guidi Windows, &c. By ELIZABETH BARRETT BROWNING. New York: C. S. Francis & Co. 1851. 16mo. pp. 234.

THIS volume is uniform with the two which we recently noticed from the same publishers, as containing the other poetical writings of Mrs. Browning. Some beautiful gems, rich in sentiment felicitously expressed, are found in these pages. The author has her admirers, and while general criticism pronounces her various pieces, and even parts of the same, as of very unequal merit, she holds an honored place among our living versifiers.

Treatise on the Christian Religion. By ATHANASE COQUEREL, Pastor of the Reformed Church in Paris. From the French. Edited by Rev. J. I. T. COOLIDGE. Boston: Crosby & Nichols. 1851. 16mo. pp. 146.

IT is curious to note the contrast between the huge old folios which bore titles similar to the above, and had the same general aim in view, and the little volumes into which divines now seek to compress the substance of the Gospel. The contrast is very significant of a wisdom which deals in as different a way with the subject-matter of the volumes.

This is the manual which M. Coquerel himself has used for many years in preparing young persons for their first participation in the Lord's Supper. It is very simple and comprehensive in its form. Its division of topics is natural, and in their summary they embrace the main topics of Christian instruction. There is more use made of the Old Testament than one would infer from the title of the volume, and this to us increases its value.

Closet Prayers, Original and Compiled from the Writings of Eminent and Holy Men of Various Churches. By THOMAS SADLER, Ph. D. London: Whitfield. 1851. 32mo. pp. 189.

THE names of those honored and saintly men whose devotional expressions are gathered together in this very small volume, are a beautiful illustration of the unity of spirit in all true believers. St. Augustine and St. Chrysostom, Fénelon, Pascal, and À Kempis, Bishops Andrews, Taylor, Hoadley, and Leighton, Drs. Arnold, Watts, and Channing, are here made to minister to the religious sentiment in its most sincere utterance of itself. The

miniature size of this volume and its rich contents adapt it to all the private uses at home and abroad which such a work can serve.

New Publications of James Munroe & Co.

Hudson's Shakspeare. — Two volumes of this new Boston edition of the works of the great dramatist have already appeared. The whole publication will be comprised in eleven volumes, the last of which will contain a Life of the poet, with his Poems, and a General Review. The mechanical execution is as near perfection as need be, the paper being substantial and fair, the type new, with a beautiful, clear face, and the volumes of a size best adapted to use. If long and devoted study can qualify any one to edit these materials, Mr. Hudson can scarce fail in his undertaking. He has made the Chiswick edition his model, but has corrected its variations from the original text, as far as that can be accurately ascertained, and has availed himself of the most valuable efforts of his more recent predecessors in the work, as well as of those of the older critics, to enable him to present us with a copy combining advantages and excluding defects. We see no token in the introductions or notes prepared by Mr. Hudson of any peculiar theory or fancy of his own, such as often impair the value of similar undertakings. We wish him eminent success, and believe that the public will profit by his labors. We must, however, except from commendation one note on the words of the Clown in Twelfth Night, — "Nay, I am for all waters," — in which Mr. Hudson suggests a possible humorous application of Isaiah xxxiii. 20, "Blessed are ye that sow beside all waters."

"The Life and Writings of the Rev. George Herbert: with the Synagogue in Imitation of Herbert." (12mo. pp. 452.) An abridgment of the admirable biography by old Izaak Walton precedes, as it always should, these quaint poems and prose writings of one of the richest of the old English authors. The true unction of a childlike piety, mingled with a spirit of profound wisdom, consecrates the pages of Herbert. His conceits are not as hard or far-fetched as are those of some writers who succeeded him. This volume will always be one of the gems of a library which has an honored place for good books.

"History of the Cross of Christ. By Rev. William R. Alger." (16mo. pp. 95.) The idea of this little book was suggested to its author by an English work entitled "Cruciana," though he has improved upon its subject-matter and upon the whole treatment of the theme. Mr. Alger has aimed to present the appeals and influences which come from the cross of Christ,

as viewed under different aspects, to the reason, the imagination, and the feelings of a true believer. He traces the lineal history of the cross, and develops its symbolic meaning. Of course there is much of a beautiful, an impressive, and an edifying power in all the historical associations and fond sentiments which ages have gathered around this symbol. Mr. Alger has treated his theme with a pure taste and with wisdom.

"The Island of Life: an Allegory. By a Clergyman." (16mo. pp. 89.) Several very delicate etchings help to illustrate the meaning and design of this little volume. Though we do not regard allegory as the most desirable medium for impressing truth, and would but seldom have recourse to it amid such an abundance of unimproved and unappreciated facts, we see no harm in an occasional contribution of the sort to our literature. There is a simplicity and a gracefulness in this specimen of it, which will make its beautiful and touching lesson very effective to a susceptible heart.

"*Horæ Vacivæ.* A Thought-Book of the Wise Spirits of all Ages and all Countries, fit for all Men, and all Hours. Collected, arranged, and edited by James Elmes." (16mo. pp. 256.) This is an American reprint — edited, with an occasional note, by Rev. Dr. Vinton — of an English compilation. The original editor made this work the genial occupation of his hours through four years of blindness, reviving his own memories and exercising his judgment as the pages of the past were read to him by his daughter. The collection is rich in pregnant thoughts and in words of wisdom. Pagan, Jew, and Christian contribute here from their wealth of mind. All classes of writers who have earned a good remembrance furnish one or more paragraphs.

Messrs. Munroe & Co. have likewise published (16mo, pp. 160), a second edition of the Translation by George S. Hillard, Esq., of M. Guizot's "Essay on the Character and Influence of Washington." This was originally prefixed to a French version of Sparks's Life of Washington. Many of our readers are already acquainted with this brilliant Essay, which is a noble tribute to one of the best and greatest men of our race.

The five little stories, entitled respectively, — "A Trap to catch a Sunbeam," — "Old Joliffe," — "A Sequel to Old Joliffe," — "Only," — and "The Dream Chintz," — all written by a lady, and published in a very neat style by Munroe & Co., have been received with delight by a large circle of readers. Their popularity is well deserved, for their contents and their morals are admirable.

"The Glory of the Latter House: a Discourse delivered at the Dedication of the Meeting-house of the Second Congregational Society in Worcester, March 2, 1851. By Alonzo Hill, Minister of said Society." (Worcester: Andrew Hutchinson. 1851. 8vo. pp. 55.) The Dedication of this Discourse refers to a peaceful and happy ministry, still exercised after the lapse of twenty-four years. The preacher, who has been so long honored and beloved for his faithful service, greets the erection of a new and elegant place of worship over the ruins of one destroyed by fire. After some introductory remarks, appropriate and earnest, having reference to the place, and the instruments and incitements of devotion, Mr. Hill sets himself to answer the two questions,— "In what has the glory of our New England Churches consisted?" "And how shall their glory be yet greater?" The answer to the former question shows, that our churches have maintained the independency of religious associations, have presented a simple, but admirable form of church organization, and have established spiritual freedom and progress upon an immovable basis. The answer to the second question is, that the Church must still maintain her freedom, and hold her rightful spiritual supremacy; must meet the growing scepticism and irreligion of the times; must make her ministrations more practical, and must exert a genial, spiritual, and uplifting influence.

The edifice is of brick, stuccoed, of the Roman Corinthian order, and the society is free from debt.

"The Good Parishioner. A Discourse occasioned by the Death of Benjamin Rich, Esq., delivered in the Church on Church Green, June 8, 1851. By Alexander Young, D. D. Printed by request." (Boston: J. Wilson & Son. 1851. 8vo. pp. 24.) "One that worshipped God, whose house joined hard to the synagogue," is the text eminently appropriate in both its clauses to the subject of this discourse. Dr. Young presents, after the manner of the sterling old English writers, a sketch of the character of a good parishioner, embracing those public and private exhibitions of a religious purpose which show a kind, a friendly, and a conscientious spirit, a sympathy with the minister, and a sense of obligation to a holy cause. The preacher then illustrates these excellent traits as manifested in the life and character of the late Hon. Benjamin Rich, a man of a most kindly spirit and a most industrious and useful life; one of that race of merchants to whom Boston owes so much. Without lavish eulogy, Dr. Young is content to tell the simple story of a most energetic and benevolent life, and to allow the spontaneous deeds of a good man to impress their own moral. Personal friendship and constant intercourse would have justified even warmer praise from the pastor of his good parishioner.

"The Seventeenth Annual Report of the Executive Committee of the Benevolent Fraternity of Churches." (Boston: J. Wilson & Son. 1851. 8vo. pp. 33.) "Ninth Annual Report of the Ministry at Large, in the City of Providence, by Edwin M. Stone." (Providence: A. C. Greene. 1851. 12mo. pp. 26.) "Sixth Semiannual Report of the Ministry at Large, with the Report of the Edgeworth Chapel Sunday School, in Charlestown. By Oliver C. Everett." (Boston: W. Chadwick. 1851. 12mo. pp. 24.) "Proceedings of the Fourteenth Annual Meeting of the Association for the Support of the Warren Street Chapel, together with Mr. Barnard's Report." (Boston: Dutton & Wentworth. 1851. 12mo. pp. 40.) "First Annual Report of the Association for the Relief of Aged Indigent Females." (Boston: J. Wilson & Son. 1851. 8vo. pp. 36.) — We give the titles of these pamphlets, — and we might add many others, — to indicate the continued prosecution, and indeed the increase, of those benevolent agencies, in a peculiarly Christian form, which have been established within a few years in our cities. Portland, Lowell, Roxbury, and St. Louis furnish us other materials. Mr. Everett's Report, the first which has been published of the ministry in Charlestown, is in our opinion a model report, instructive, judicious, and offering the right sort of encouragement. We are sorry that that noble enterprise, so fruitful of evident blessings, which Mr. Barnard has for many years conducted, should be in debt, but the announcement of the fact will doubtless soon make it no longer a fact.

RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE.

ANNIVERSARY WEEK.

The Massachusetts Bible Society held its Annual Meeting in the Central Church, Winter Street, on Monday afternoon, May 26th. Hon. Simon Greenleaf presided, and, after the devotional exercises had been conducted by Rev. President Hopkins of Williams College, introduced the great cause which had again called together what is generally the largest assemblage of Anniversary Week. He spoke of the one single object which the Society had in view, — the circulation of the Bible, — as engaging the zeal and interest of all Christians, as distinct from any sectarian or controversial purpose, and as prompted by our own experience of its value, and by the fact that the Holy Scriptures inspired and guided every noble enterprise for the welfare of humanity. The Rev. Dr. Parkman then read the Annual Report, drawn up in a felicitous style, so concise and weighty in its statements, and so appropriate in its diction, as to make a model for those who are held to discharge a similar service. This State Society has distributed during the last year 7,715 copies of the whole Bible, and 16,839 copies of the New Testament, of which entire issue all except about a thousand copies were in the English language. By the labors of the Agent, several

new Auxiliary Societies have been formed during the year. Earnest and impressive addresses, which deeply engaged the attention of the audience, were made by Rev. Dr. Stow of Boston, Rev. Dr. Johns of Baltimore, Rev. Samuel Osgood of New York, and Rev. M. Leon Pilatte from France.

The American Unitarian Association held the business-meeting of its Twenty-Sixth Anniversary at the Chapel of the Church of the Saviour, on Tuesday morning, May 27th. After prayer had been offered, Rev. Calvin Lincoln read the Annual Report, which — considering the well-known obstacles attending the operations of the Association, and the very limited extent to which it engages the hearty coöperation of those of whose religious views it is the exponent — presented an encouraging statement of success. The report was written in an admirable spirit, avoiding alike boasting and bigotry, and commending the objects of the Association solely on the ground that they are identified with the interests of the pure and benedictive Gospel of Jesus Christ. The appeal which had been made during the year in behalf of the Meadville Theological School, for the sum of $ 50,000, which was so promptly met, and the collection in this city of some $ 18,000 for the Boston Port Society, the whole of which latter sum, with the exception of some two or three hundred dollars, was, like the former, contributed by Unitarians, would of course be felt in the treasury of the Association. But about $ 10,000 has been received and expended during the year.

A nominating committee was chosen to present the names of candidates for the offices of the Association for the ensuing year. The President, Dr. Gannett, declined a nomination for reëlection, much to the regret of the members present. The Rev. Dr. J. W. Thompson and the Rev. Alonzo Hill also declined re-nomination as Directors.

The following gentlemen were then nominated and elected by ballot: — Rev. Samuel K. Lothrop, President; Hon. Stephen Fairbanks, and Rev. Dr. E. B. Hall, Vice-Presidents; Rev. Dr. H. A. Miles, Rev. Charles Brooks, Hon. Albert Fearing, Isaiah Bangs, Esq., and Rev. G. W. Briggs, Directors; Rev. Calvin Lincoln, Secretary; and Henry P. Fairbanks, Esq., Treasurer.

On accepting the office thus conferred upon him, Mr. Lothrop referred to the many years through which he had already served the Association in various capacities, and briefly reviewed its history and objects. His predecessors had been men of high name and honor, and he especially adverted to the devoted and faithful example of Dr. Gannett. He hoped to receive the approbation of those who had committed to him a great trust, and should seek to deserve it by imitating the zeal and fidelity of those who had gone before him.

Dr. Gannett replied to the expressions of regard made towards himself, by commending, as Mr. Lothrop had done, the members of the Executive Committee, who had heartily coöperated with him. He spoke a few earnest words for the Association, inviting for it a warmer and more efficient support. We can but join in the general acknowledgment of the eminently dignified and devoted spirit in which Dr. Gannett has discharged his duties. Our cause owes more to him than to any one among the living. Though beyond all others of our brethren he insists most emphatically upon Unitarian distinctions, we do not think that he has ever made himself an enemy, or lost the esteem of a single individual among the sects around us.

Near the close of the business meeting, the Rev. S. J. May of Syracuse introduced a preamble followed by a Resolution; the former named with marked disapprobation several distinguished Unitarians, laymen and ministers, on account of their opinions concerning the Fugitive Slave Law, and the latter recommended every form of opposition to the law save that of physical force. It was voted that the document should not be received. The meeting then adjourned until evening, when it was held in the Federal Street Church. Rev. Dr. Barrett opened the exercises with prayer; the President called for the reading of a summary of the Report, and made a few introductory remarks. At his call successive speakers rose to enforce the Resolutions, which he read as follows: —

"1. *Resolved*, That the history of the Christian Church and the signs of the times, not less than its wide-spread and undeniable wants, teach us that, avoiding sectarian aggressiveness and bitterness, we should be faithful in the exposition and dissemination of the Gospel of Divine grace, as we have drawn it from the oracles of our faith."

This was spoken to by Rev. Dr. Hall of Providence and Hon. Judge Rogers.

"2. *Resolved*, That the history of Christian beneficence, and the examples of efficient labor in other directions, show that, while the strength of every enterprise lies in the purity of personal conviction and action, success in the diffusion of truth depends very much on union of individual resources."

Spoken to by Rev. Barzillai Frost of Concord, and Hon. H. Chapin of Worcester.

"3. *Resolved*, That personal holiness, originating in an active faith, and expressed in the practical life, is at once the proof and the method of a true reconciliation of the soul to God."

Spoken to by Rev. E. H. Sears of Wayland, and Rev. E. B. Willson of Grafton.

"4. *Resolved*, That the past contributions of our scholars to the means of Biblical study, and the interest taken at present in the formation of Bible classes, concur with the claims of Scripture, to impose on us the duty of an earnest and constant perusal of the sacred volume."

Spoken to by Rev. Dr. Parkman and Francis B. Hayes, Esq.

"5. *Resolved*, That the logical and spiritual tendencies of Unitarian thought lead, not to scepticism or disorder, but to a calm and clear faith."

Spoken to by Rev. W. H. Eliot of St. Louis, and Rev. W. Mountford of Gloucester, late of England.

The exercises closed with a doxology and benediction. We have never enjoyed more this anniversary occasion. A spirit of reverence, of love and fidelity, seemed to influence all the speakers. What was said was good, and it was wisely and affectionately expressed. Without owing any of its impression to that detestable stuff which is called platform oratory, the meeting left upon the heart the glow of a truly religious communion on high themes and holy duties.

But we could not avoid some wanderings of thought from the words of the speakers, as we considered in our own mind why it is that the actual Unitarianism in these United States makes such an inadequate expression of itself in any of our organizations. If we are a Christian sect, then it is very certain that we show to a disadvantage among all other sects in the disproportion between our real strength and ability, and the exhibitions which we make of them in the ordinary ways of sectarian

demonstrations. Our pecuniary contributions, as a body, alone make any thing like a just exponent of our means and Christian intentions. But these are so freely bestowed upon a multitude of benevolent, philanthropical, and educational objects, and are so little directed into sectarian channels, that we really often do as much through the medium of money to invigorate other sects as to extend our own. It entered into the original design of those who formed the Association, and it has ever been the wish of its most earnest friends, that its Auxiliaries should be brought into joint action with it in all measures. It was expected that delegates from our various congregations would attend the annual meeting, would take an active part in its deliberations, and extend in all directions the impulses which might from time to time quicken at the centre. If this expectation had been realized, the Association would have been vastly more efficient both in its religious and in its benevolent agencies. But while this simple process of joint action through delegates has never been any thing more than an intention, various other reasons may be given for the very inadequate expression of our real ability and numbers which is made by or through the Association. From the very commencement of the Trinitarian controversy, and the drawing of party lines, a large number of *Liberal Christians*, so called, — and we are almost tempted by the commentary which events have written to regard this class of them as the majority, — utterly refused to come under any sectarian title or organization. Some of the most efficient men who belonged to our party, if they belonged to any, some who preached, wrote, labored, and contributed in various ways to sustain and vindicate the new cause, withheld their assent to a denominational bond, or an antagonistic position before the public. Many reasons led them to this decision. They had experienced so much of the evils of ecclesiastical action, that they would not risk it in any shape. They found it difficult to define a party profession which should both include and exclude all that were with them and all that were against them. The name Unitarian, too, had been made objectionable, not to say offensive, by some of the unessential and accidental associations which attached to it in England. Any one who has perused Cottle's Reminiscences and the Biographies and Letters of Coleridge and Southey, and calls to mind the sermon of the former on "The Hair-Powder Tax," and any one who is familiar with the materialistic opinions, and the political ill-odor of Priestley and some of his friends, will well understand why the title Unitarian should have been rejected by many who, notwithstanding, were Unitarians. These original objections have continued in force to many minds ever since, and new objections have arisen in addition to them. The length to which some of our brethren have carried a license of criticism, and the spirit of antagonism to the records and institutions of revealed religion, has repelled many from us, who are still with us. Others have friends or relatives so attached to other views or communions that they are unwilling to make a manifestation of hostility towards the various Christian bodies. Indeed, it is a prime element of their faith, with a large number of Unitarians, that they ought not to show any very earnest interest in matters of mere opinion, when these tend to distract and divide Christians. For these and other reasons, which might be given, our views have never called out, and brought together and bound by party ties, and engaged in joint action, more than a very small portion of those who hold them. Those who are actually with us in opinion and conviction may be found in nearly every church in our land.

Some other reasons might be stated, to account for the undeniably disproportionate exhibition which we have made when compared with other sects, in concentrated efforts to extend our views. Very many occasional and temporary movements have been started among us. Our societies, making the fullest use of their independency, select their own objects of benevolence. City churches contribute largely to sustain domestic ministries to the poor. Several missionary enterprises have been projected and continued through short periods. Large sums bestowed by Unitarians have gone to the general funds of Bible Societies, or to the charities of the whole Congregational body. We have given over, if we ever actually entertained, the expectation, that all those who accord with us in our views of the Gospel, of its substantial truths, and of the aims and means requisite for enlarging, purifying, and deepening its influence, can be induced to enroll themselves in an association, to take a distinctive name based upon one or more of their opinions, and to appear in its support in any way which brings them into antagonism with other Christians. But few of the honored and eminent laymen who are with us in sentiment attend our conventions, while other sects, on like occasions, are apt to bring forward all their strength and dignity, as represented by distinguished civilians and heads and officers of colleges. We have borne all the reproach of sectarianism at Cambridge, without having turned our alleged opportunities to any account in that direction. Since Justice Story died, we have missed a strong and earnest voice, and an honored advocate. We know not when we last heard, at any of our anniversaries, the words of a Cambridge President or Professor. We mention this fact only as a fact, without expressing either regret or approbation. Some approve this state of things among us; it meets their idea of the perfectly free and unsectarian character of our body. Others would rejoice to see a different state of things, and they feel that allegiance to what we regard as the truth, and a knowledge of the amount of irreligion, scepticism, bigotry, and exclusiveness which still prevail, should move us to coöperate in an efficient, though honorable and charitable sectarianism. It ought, however, to be mentioned, that when our right to the Christian name was actually in question, and our freedom and comfort were put in peril by a preponderating spirit of exclusiveness in the community, there was no lack of boldness and fidelity on the part of our laymen, in the maintenance of our opinions and rights. These being no longer in peril, very many among us think that truth may be left to its inherent power and to its spontaneous agencies, without requiring another roll-call of its champions. Time only can test the practical results of this cooling of sectarian ardor.

In the mean while, the very moderate degree of effort which we make as a denomination accomplishes as much as we could expect from it. The general softening effect which has been wrought upon the spirit of religious hostility is a testimony on a large scale to the efficiency of "the unsectarian sect." Controversies have been opened between parties in other communions among themselves, more interesting for the time being than is our own common controversy with them. We have a large amount of literature of a distinctive character, and its circulation is greatly extending our views.

The Collation. — This festival, to which all Unitarian ministers, with their wives, are invited by the Unitarian laity of Boston, lacked none of its usual interest this year. It took place in the spacious Assembly Hall in Beach Street, over the Worcester Railroad Station. Hon. Benja-

min Seaver presided, Governor Boutwell and Hon. John P. Hale of the United States Senate being seated at either side of him. A blessing was invoked by Rev. Dr. Barrett, and thanks were returned by Rev. W. H. Eliot of St. Louis. Remarks, some of a serious, but for the most part of a lively and amusing character, were made by Mr. Seaver, Rev. Chandler Robbins, Hon. J. P. Hale, Rev. H. F. Bond of Dover, N. H. Rev. W. H. Eliot of St. Louis, Rev. A. B. Muzzey of Cambridgeport, Governor Boutwell, Hon. Horace Mann, Samuel Greele, Esq., Rev. Charles Farley of San Francisco, George Holt, Esq., of Liverpool, Rev. R. Sanger of Dover, Rev. Dr. Farley of Brooklyn, N. Y., Rev. Samuel Osgood of New York, Rev. J. Pierpont of Medford, Hon. D. A. White of Salem, and Mr. G. F. Thayer.

The Society for the Relief of Aged and Destitute Clergymen met on Wednesday morning, May 28th, at the Chapel of the Church of the Saviour, Rev. Dr. Parkman presiding. The officers of the last year were reëlected. The amount of the funds already in the treasury of the Society exceeds $6,000. No special efforts have been made to obtain contributions, and the present fund must be regarded as almost a spontaneous offering from generous hearts to a truly merciful and affectionate charity. Though no public record is to be made of the names of the recipients of this benevolence, we are at liberty to state that some most worthy persons have had cause to bless the motive and the occasion which established this fund. It is obvious that the interest of what is now in the treasury will be inadequate to the purpose of the charity. But we feel that it may be safely left to commend itself to those who enjoy wealth with a kindly heart, and who need no urgency of appeal to move them to a liberal exercise of both.

Sunday School Society. — The Annual Meeting of this Society was held in the Church in Federal Street, on Wednesday evening, May 28, the President, Hon. Stephen C. Phillips, in the chair. Prayer was offered by Rev. John White of Dedham. The Annual Report, which was read by the Secretary, Rev. S. H. Winckley, presented some statistics of the operations of this institution in most of our congregations, and offered views designed and suited both to excite and encourage teachers in their work. New force was given to the already well-established grounds on which this Society maintains its claims to an earnest and hearty regard, as the nursery of our churches, and one of the most efficient means for the moral and social improvement of successive generations in the community at large.

Addresses were made on the occasion by Rev. H. F. Harrington of Lawrence; Rev. Alonzo Hill of Worcester; Rev. W. R. Alger of Roxbury; and Rev. G. W. Briggs of Plymouth. The President offered some cheering remarks at the close.

The Massachusetts Convention of Congregational Ministers met as usual in the Supreme Court room, on Wednesday, at 5 o'clock, P. M. Rev. Dr. Frothingham was the preacher in order for this year, but he having declined the service on account of the state of his health, the second preacher, Rev. Dr. Woodbridge of Hadley, officiated as Moderator, and delivered the Convention Sermon on the day following. Rev. Dr. Putnam of Roxbury was chosen as the preacher for the next year.

A committee was raised by the Convention to inquire into and report upon the use of tobacco.

Devotional Exercises of Anniversary Week. — These occasions, which exclude formal discussion, and are regarded as exclusively designed to quicken religious sentiment, are attended by a great many persons who are highly interested in them, as the most profitable of all which the week affords them. For four successive mornings the places of assembly were filled at an early hour for conference and prayer meetings. The brevity of those who took part in them gave opportunity for much variety. The Lord's Supper was administered on Thursday evening at the Church in Federal Street.

Ministerial Conference. — Under the system adopted two years ago for the conduct of this body, two profitable meetings were held, and two addresses were delivered, followed by debates. The Conference assembled in the Chapel of the Church of the Saviour, on Wednesday morning, May 28. Rev. Dr. Farley was chosen Moderator, the officers of the last year, a Scribe and a Committee, were reëlected, Rev. Dr. Hall of Providence being put upon the latter in place of Rev. J. F. Clarke. The Rev. F. H. Hedge of Providence then delivered an address, which appears on preceding pages of this number. A debate ensued, the aim of which was to do justice to the Protestant side on some points suggested by the address, though of course not dwelt upon by the speaker from limitation of time.

In the afternoon, the Rev. John Pierpont of Medford delivered an address on Social Reform. After allowing the claims of this age on the score of practical benevolence, and giving it credit for its measures and agencies of good, Mr. Pierpont presented a sad picture of the actual state of Christendom, of its vice, its tolerated iniquities and outrages, and contrasted the force and sway of all these with the feebleness of the efforts put forth against them. In conclusion, he adverted to the difficulties which attend the faithful preaching of the Christian religion, especially under the voluntary system, where any parishioners who may take offence at the honest rebuke of a preacher, or rather at the truth as spoken by his lips, may promote dissension and drive off a minister. A short debate ensued, which was brought to a close by an adurnment.

The Debate on the Fugitive Slave Law in the Ministerial Conference. — The discussion begun on Wednesday afternoon was interrupted by adjournment, and renewed on Thursday morning. The manner in which this debate has been brought before the public in the newspapers, and the complete misrepresentation of the ruling spirit of the meeting, and of the tenor of the remarks of some of the speakers, seem to call for some reference to the subject in our pages of Intelligence. It would appear from the newspapers, — which, by a great breach of courtesy and an affront to truth, introduced into their columns pretended reports of the meeting, — that now, for the first time, the so-called Liberal Ministers brought the topic of Slavery into their discussions, and that most of them went all lengths in the use of violent and revolutionary language. Nothing could be farther from the truth. A fair representation and report of the meeting and the discussion would, we believe, be read with interest by good men of various opinions, as highly commendable to the body represented in it. Strong sentences, taken from their connection, and without the qualifications attending their utterance, and with no

recognition of the well-known position and former remarks or course of conduct of the speakers, were brought before the public, while calm and wise words were passed without notice. Nor was any thing said of the connection between this debate and those of previous years.

It is true that the papers which were instrumental in spreading these misrepresentations, by copying from the journal which first contained them, offered to give equal publicity to any correction which the speakers who had been wronged might offer for insertion. But no individual felt himself held to the obligation of a personal remonstrance on his own part. No one could fairly report his own remarks in their full connection and with all their bearings, without giving a complete sketch of the meeting. No independent man wishes, by bringing forward with stress his qualifications and explanations, to appear to take back even his rhetoric. The simple truth is, that the same subject has come up before every meeting of the Conference for the last ten or twelve years. Those who spoke this year had spoken often before, and they spoke with reference to their previous opinions and course of action. The brethren knew, as the public, even from the fullest report, would not know, how to interpret each speaker. The supposed security of a private meeting was trusted to as rendering unnecessary that deliberate and guarded speech which one would use under different circumstances.

The resolution offered by Rev. S. J. May, at the meeting of the Unitarian Association, was offered to the Conference. Besides this, a counter resolution, with a preamble introducing names to correspond with those in Mr. May's preamble, was presented by Rev. Joseph Richardson of Hingham. The same topic was introduced in another paper, which, with some subjects proposed by the Executive Committee, all came before the Conference. By reference to the rules of the body, it was found that the Conference had provided that, as it was a meeting of brethren for frank and friendly conversation or advice, and not an ecclesiastical convention, no declarative vote or resolution should be passed. The recognition of this rule was a disappointment to those who wished the Conference to pronounce upon the Fugitive Slave Law, while it was hailed as a relief to those of another mind. The papers offered in the shape of resolutions were therefore changed in form, and made subjects for discussion, the records showing only that they were discussed without action upon them. All persons present not members of the Conference were requested to retire. The meeting was designed to be private and informal. This precluding in the outset of all action by resolutions was the first matter which occupied the time.

Another point which engaged several of the speakers had reference to our brethren in England. The Rev. Theodore Parker read an editorial from the London Inquirer, and referred to the action of the Congregational Union at Bristol, both advising that such of our ministers as might visit England without being known there to have expressed here decided opinions against the Fugitive Slave Law, should not be allowed to enter an English pulpit.

Rev. George E. Ellis of Charlestown, after expressing his gratification that now for the first time in our meetings justice was done to honest differences of opinion, by a debate which was not to result in a resolution, implicating all with some, denied the right of the body ever to force its members into such action, and expressed his purpose to leave the Conference if it ever took such a course. He had always opposed similar resolutions, and also all answers to the letters from our brethren

in England, which he viewed only as echoes from *Abolitionists* here, not as virtually originating abroad. Though he had been abused for this opposition, he professed that he had always sympathized, and still sympathized, heart and soul, with the most ultra Abolitionists in the subject of their efforts, while he resisted their measures as in his view unwise. Mr. Ellis then read from the London Inquirer of May 3, an account of a meeting of the Western Unitarian Christian Union at Bridgewater (England), at which the matter referred to by Mr. Parker was discussed, the majority deciding against any action upon it. We extract the remarks of Rev. Mr. Montgomery of Taunton during that debate, as read by Mr. Ellis: —

"The Rev. R. M. Montgomery rose and said, that, though a member of the Committee, he felt bound to protest against the course that had been taken on the subject of American Slavery. He was not present when the Report was prepared, and he much regretted his not having gone to Bristol, for he would, if he had stood alone, have opposed the introduction into the Report of what they had just heard on this topic. He was as much an enemy to slavery as any one could be, and believed it to be the most abominable and accursed of systems. But he did object most strongly to their sitting in judgment on the conduct of men whose names they honored, and whose beautiful productions they valued, because they did not think it right to join William Lloyd Garrison and Frederic Douglass, and the Abolition Society, to whose proceedings they had strong and conscientious objections. We were not in a situation to know all the difficulties with which our ministers in America were surrounded, and it did not become us to act in the way suggested towards men as pious, as benevolent, as Christian as ourselves. Would it be endured that such a man as Dr. Dewey, should he again visit Europe, should be looked coldly on, and refused admission to our pulpits, because of a difference of opinion with some of us with regard to the Fugitive Slave Law? He could only assure them, that, pass whatever resolution they might, he should not be bound by it, if it went to the recommendation of such a course, and that the pulpit at Taunton should be open to any brother minister from America, and that he would gladly welcome him to it. They should look at home. There were evils enough here to contend against. We had not long got rid of slavery ourselves, and many of our charitable institutions, many of our chapels, were still sustained by money which had been gained by persons who were connected with West Indian slavery. He suspected that this was the case at Lewin's Mead. Would their friends from Bristol be consistent, and cast away what had been thus acquired? They had still slavery enough amongst them, and he thought the man who was enslaved to *gin* was as much an object of pity as he who was in bondage to an American slaveholder. But what would be said, if those who were teetotallers among them should seek to introduce a test, and to exclude from their pulpits all ministers who did not sign the abstinence pledge? He lamented the course the Committee had taken, and condemned it as an unjustifiable interference with the right of private judgment, which they professed so much to value, and must, for himself at least, oppose the course which they had recommended to the meeting."

Mr. Ellis heartily commended these words of Mr. Montgomery, as vindicating that true independence of opinion and judgment of which we boasted. He did not believe that the Union of these States was held by so frail a tenure, that our own discussions of an obnoxious law would sunder the bond. Nor did he believe that, as had been said, the Union existed solely to enable Southern slaveholders to scour over the free North to catch their runaway slaves; if this were true, the sooner the Union was sundered the better.

But the main point involved in the discussion was, how as Christian

ministers we were to regard a law which was in antagonism with conscience and the natural dictates of humanity. Rev. S. Judd of Augusta, Me., disapproved of all personalities on this subject, and maintained the great rights of free judgment, deliberate speech, and Christian action, allowing the widest scope to conscientious differences. Rev. S. J. May of Syracuse, N. Y., thought that the names and course of action of public men in reference to this subject were as properly matters of public criticism as were their views upon other subjects. Rev. Dr. Hall of Providence, R. I., spoke very earnestly of the need of candor, justice, moderation, and mild and prudent, though at the same time faithful, speech on this subject. He thought that statesmen, civilians, and ministers should be mutually respectful in their criticisms of each other's course. While he utterly repudiated all active resistance of law, Dr. Hall expressed his readiness to suffer any amount of personal loss or pain rather than be an individual agent in executing it in this case. Rev. B. Frost of Concord adverted to some difficulties which he had encountered, and claimed for the pulpit the right to deal with politico-moral themes. Rev. W. H. Channing said that emancipation would do but partial justice to the slaves, as they ought also to receive protection and land. He advocated a plan by which the North should bear a full share of all the expenses of such a course. Rev. Mr. Pierpont of Medford offered a very ingenious analysis of law, as based upon the distinction between right and wrong, just and unjust, and illustrated the inconsistency involved in an unjust law by comparing it to a decision which should pronounce a figure with four sides and four angles to be a triangle. The mingled humor and causticity of his remarks excited a degree of mirthfulness in the audience. Rev. Dr. Gannett regretted this exhibition of pleasantry. He thought the subject profoundly serious and threatening, and that it required to be discussed in a most sober spirit, with a sense of the deeply momentous interests of this great republic which it involved. Dr. Gannett protested most earnestly against the criticism of a remark attributed to an absent member of the Conference. This remark, which newspaper report had ascribed to one of our most distinguished brethren, was repudiated by his own authority, through a friend present. Two of the brethren affirmed that they had heard it in substance. The seeming discrepancy of testimony was easily reconciled to the candid mind by referring the alleged remark to an extempore utterance, in the course of a lecture, expressive of the profound sense of the value of this Union entertained by the lecturer, and so engaging his concern for its peace, and his tolerance for a measure which seemed for the time to be requisite to insure it, that he would be willing even to surrender one of those most dear to him in order to preserve it. Rev. T. Parker described in a subdued and graphic manner his own circumstances while, surrounded with the rusty implements which his ancestors had used in the battles of liberty, and while preparing his discourse, he gave shelter to a fugitive.

We have endeavored to comply with the wishes of many brethren in offering this slight sketch, in which we have aimed to be correct.

Ordination. — Mr. Charles E. Hodges, a graduate of the Theological School at Cambridge, was ordained as Pastor of the Congregational Church in Barre, on Wednesday, June 11. The exercises commenced with Prayer by Rev. E. E. Hale of Worcester; Selections from Scripture by Rev. M. W. Willis of Petersham; Sermon by Rev. Dr. Furness of Philadelphia; Prayer of Ordination by Rev. Dr. Thompson, who still retains a connection with his Church at Barre; Charge by Rev.

W. H. Channing; Fellowship of the Churches by Rev. F. P. Appleton of Danvers; Address to the Society by Rev. O. Stearns of Hingham; Concluding Prayer by Rev. Dr. Hill of Worcester.

OBITUARY.

Rev. Thomas Brattle Gannett. — We are desirous of recording on our pages some brief notice of a good and exemplary man, whose memory is affectionately cherished in the hearts of those to whom in private or official relations he was long united.

Mr. Gannett was for nearly twenty years the pastor of a church in Cambridge Port, and afterwards at South Natick, where, on the 19th of April, 1851, he died. He was the son of Caleb Gannett, Esq., who, having engaged for a short period in the ministry, removed to Cambridge, and was connected until his death, in 1818, in various offices, with the University, as Tutor from 1773 to 1780, Fellow of the Corporation for a part of the same period, and for a long series of years in the responsible, and in those days arduous, office of Steward. He was a member also of the American Academy and of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

From a just and affectionate tribute to his son's memory, written soon after his decease, by one whose friendship as a parishioner and just appreciation give weight to his testimony, and from our own, though less intimate, acquaintance, we may not hesitate to number Mr. Gannett with the excellent and esteemed of his day. Having graduated at Harvard University in 1809, and completed his theological studies, he became the pastor, as we have said, of the Cambridge Port Parish, over which he was ordained January 19th, 1814. Here he approved himself a faithful and devoted minister, conciliating the affection and commanding the respect of the flock by his exemplary life and devotion to their service, more especially amidst some trials of their early history. If not distinguished by the highest intellectual endowments, or claiming a place with those who exert a marked influence upon society, Mr. Gannett was known and trusted for his moral excellence, his kind affections, his sound practical judgment in regard to the duties and exigencies of life, and his efficient usefulness. He had always a ready sympathy for the sorrowful, and consecrated a full proportion of the means with which he was intrusted to the relief of the destitute. As a token of his interest in the young, and of his quiet, unobtrusive benevolence, it may be mentioned here, as stated in the interesting notice to which we have already referred, that "a Sunday school, one of the earliest established in New England, having been opened in his parish, designed more particularly for the benefit of the neglected children of the idle and dissolute, for whom some charitable ladies had provided suitable Sunday clothes, they went regularly once a week to the house of the pastor to be washed and dressed for Sunday school and the church."

It belonged to Mr. Gannett's nature to shrink from publicity, but his tenderness of conscience never permitted him to neglect a duty, while his sound discretion guided him always to the right performance of it. Many within the walks of the profession which he loved have been more eminent, but few more esteemed. And when the distinctions which the world and the church confer upon genius and eloquence and learning shall be lost in the more enduring distinctions of virtue, we believe that our friend will be found with them "of whom God is not ashamed to be called their Father, having provided for them a kingdom."

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THE

CHRISTIAN EXAMINER

AND

RELIGIOUS MISCELLANY.

SEPTEMBER, 1851.

Art. I. — THE CHRIST OF THE JEWS.

German criticism on the New Testament has been very fruitful of results. Some may take fruitful to be a misprint for barren, or by results may understand bad results. But we mean what we say; that the studies of German critics have been fruitful, and of good results. The impression prevails at large, that these scholars have done little more than annihilate each other, that theory has displaced theory, and interpretation succeeded interpretation, without rule or order, — each hypothesis having its day, and then disappearing to make room for another equally baseless, which in its turn dies, leaving no useful materials for future building. It is the common belief that German Biblical criticism is chaotic. There never was a greater mistake. It is true that hasty generalizations have been made; errors have been committed and rectified; conjectures have proved false. This is the case with every science in its growing up. An extensive generalization taking the form of a theory is made upon a very few facts. Further discoveries cause the gigantic induction to be abandoned, but it only yields place to another equally out of proportion with the new mass of established data. The facts come first, the generalizations afterward. The reverse order seems to

prevail. The theory so vast appears not only to precede, but to choose, and even to create, the facts. We think the philosopher possessed by a preconceived idea. No doubt he is so to some extent. The theory hastily constructed will modify the facts it is built on, perhaps will imagine some others. Still, in the order of thought it follows them, and is shaped after them, until with the coincidence of theory and fact truth is discovered. So it is with Biblical criticism. One generalization after another has to be abandoned as too wide and sweeping, but no data are lost. Eichhorn yields to Paulus, Paulus to Strauss, Strauss to Schwegler, but all move on in the same line. There have been apparent retrogressions, but the advance has been sure. Notwithstanding diversities of opinion in regard to details, there is a surprising unanimity upon main facts and principles. The great points may be considered as established. The deposits of many students have at last formed a solid foundation. The labors of the last ten years especially have greatly furthered the cause of critical science. The writings of Schwegler and Baur, of Zeller, Planck, and Schwitzer in the *Theologische Jahrbücher*, are contributions of absolute and permanent value to this literature. There is a large school of critics who pursue a strictly scientific method of inquiry. They take the New Testament for exactly what it is, coming to its perusal with no prepossessions of any kind, traditional or dogmatic. They bring to it the same rules of investigation, literally the same rules, which they would apply to ordinary books. This is no new principle; but their adherence to it is wholly new; and the conclusions they arrive at are owing not to faithlessness, as many suppose, but to a severe obedience unto the method prescribed. Scrutinizing the Gospels with historical keenness, they have thrown much light upon their character and purpose, their age and their authors. By rigid analysis of their contents, many significant things have been discovered; the fine stream of doctrine and argument has been traced through what long appeared a tangled confusion of disconnected words or a bare waste of unsuggestive incidents; nice analogies of thought have been discerned, and the relations which the Gospels bear to each other and to their age have been explained. No longer regarding the New

Testament as a single book, having one general character, pervaded by one and the same idea, and written under a common impulse of thought, but rather considering it as a collection of separate documents, each complete in itself, each characterized by a distinct plan, motive, doctrine, and dogmatic purpose, and representing a particular phase of speculation, the scholars we speak of are enabled to assign with very considerable accuracy the place which these writings should hold in the development of contemporaneous opinion. Such results are exceedingly valuable. They may not all be final; they may not all be true so far as they go. Some things will be unsaid. Some will be modified. We expect this. But what has been acquired is of great value, nevertheless. The ablest of these critics are not so presumptuous as to think that the whole truth is found. With singular candor, and modesty also, be it said, they confess their mistakes. Baur's masterly exposition of the Pauline and Johannine theology may be unsound in some points, but its leading principles are probably fixed once and for ever. Schwegler's idea, that the belief of the Church was slowly developed by the conflict between Paul, the Apostle to the Gentiles, and the twelve who were Apostles to the Jews, — that the books of the New Testament, and in fact all the theological writings of the first century and a half, were of a controversial character, taking different sides in the discussion, or mediating between the two parties, — may need qualification, as having been made too absolute and pressed too far; but substantially it is admitted, and is likely to be confirmed; at least in the opinion of the foremost men. Biblical criticism is an experimental science. You can only say what general positions in it are about settled, not what special truths are demonstrated.

We propose in this article to report some of the conclusions already reached upon a single point, — namely, the doctrine concerning Christ, his nature and functions, in the New Testament. We purpose reporting these conclusions, not objecting to them, nor yet defending them. We confess our inadequacy to either task. For the scholars who give us these results are prodigiously learned, and whoever undertakes to confute or to vindicate them, or in fact to do any thing but sit under them

as a wary, attentive pupil, must possess erudition and sagacity in some measure proportionable to theirs.

Another explanatory remark must be offered here. The conclusions we give are the conclusions of a particular school of critics; by far the ablest and most consistent, but a distinct school. Other critics, learned men of the orthodox persuasion, Dorner, for example, and old Hengstenberg, fight manfully against them, some think successfully. Moreover, individual members of the school differ among themselves, on minor points. We shall not indicate these differences, which are unimportant; but shall confine ourselves to a general exposition of characteristic views. To do even this accurately, according to the sequence of thought, we must begin somewhat far off.

The connection which Judaism held to exist between God and man, this is the basis of our inquiry. It was a distinctive feature of Judaism, — we speak of Judaism, of course, as a whole theological system, not as an historical fact at any one period, — it was peculiar to the genius of Judaism, that it absolutely separated God and Nature. God was not immanent in the world, but a solitary, independent Being; not, however, absorbing into himself all being, for the world had a distinct, though accidental, substance and existence. The material universe, however, is of small account in the Hebrew system. It is man, the finite spirit, who represents the contrast of God; man, who is entirely distinct from God, and yet eternally related to him. Nor is it the whole of mankind, the human in itself, that stands thus over against the Divine, but only a small section of mankind, a single race, the Jewish people. It is this elect nation, made the especial object of the Divine care, which God is incessantly seeking to reconcile with himself. Such a view could not fail to narrow exceedingly the Hebrew idea of God. A limited, almost a human personality, must have been ascribed to him who was not the Infinite and Absolute Deity, but the Guardian of a singular race. The personal will of the Divine is opposed to the personal will of the human, and the only relation between the two is that of merit and reward, never that of true inward harmony. Their mutual dealings are represented by the familiar figure of a lawsuit, in which each

party pleads against the other. The people are the servants of God, not his sons. They approach him by means of a covenant, and please him by obedience to a law. No spiritual intercourse is possible between the finite and the infinite; for the finite cannot break over its bounds. This chasm between God and man, which was peculiar to the Jewish religion, remained impassable until heathen philosophy, blending with Hebrew thought in the school of Alexandria, produced the doctrine of the Logos.

Long before the birth of this doctrine, however, the Jewish mind had been straining after mediation. Hints of the final reconciliation, by no means obscure, abound in the Old Testament writings. A regular progress may be traced in the theophanies, or modes of Divine manifestation, described in these ancient books. Jehovah at first appears to the senses; then he sends a messenger, an angel; afterward he reveals himself in dreams and visions of the night. Finally, his attributes are personified, power, wisdom, goodness, in their order. God communicates with men through his Spirit, which is imparted to kings and prophets; but the Spirit is only a Divine attribute, not a Divine being. God sends forth his Word; he speaks his will, and it is done. By a word he creates heaven and earth. He sends his Word to his chosen prophets. The Mosaic law is the Word of Jehovah. But this Word is no person; nothing more than an impersonation of the living might of the Most High. The descriptions of Wisdom are far bolder. Wisdom is a moral attribute of Deity, directing and qualifying his will. To the Hebrews, the perfection of God was best displayed in Wisdom. This explains why, in the later books of the Old Testament, in Job, Proverbs, and particularly in the Apocrypha, Wisdom is exalted as the first of the Divine attributes. She is described as an absolute principle; man knows her not, nor is she found in the land of the living. God alone is acquainted with her pathway and dwelling-place. She frames and governs the world, and appoints the relations of God to man. She is the eldest daughter of God, anointed by him to be queen and governess of the earth. But this is figurative, poetical language, not too strong for personification. Wisdom is still an attribute, by no means a distinct person from the Deity. Even in the Apocryphal writings, in the Book of

Sirach and the Wisdom of Solomon, the descriptions of Wisdom do not pass the limits of bold imagery. She is not an independent, conscious being, intermediate between God and man. She is a solid, intense beam of light from the Divine glory; never cut off from its source, though seeming to have an individual power of its own.*

The Jewish religion was emphatically the religion of dualism, not of reconciliation. This peculiarity defined the popular conception of Messiah, both as to his nature and his office. He was to be a man, born of mortal parents, and subject to mortal conditions. He was to be a descendant of David, the greatest king. The spirit of God was to be poured out upon him as upon the prophets, only in larger measure. Shortly after his birth, this bounteous gift, comprehending all other gifts, of power, wisdom, and holiness, was to be bestowed upon the Christ. Such was the Messiah's nature, modified circumstantially, though not essentially, by the changing fortunes of the nation, the special exigencies of the times, and the phases of Jewish thought. His function corresponded with it. He was to restore peace to Israel, within and without. He was to build up Zion, and secure to God's people all conceivable blessing.

This is the only conception of Christ that the Hebrews with their faith could entertain, as is abundantly manifest in the Old Testament. It was not until a late period, that the prevailing belief in angels was applied to the Messiah, as we shall see by and by. Long after the age of Jesus, when Oriental speculations had corrupted the severe simplicity of Jewish thought, Christians, and Hebrew Christians, taught that he was an archangel; but such a conception was entirely foreign to the genius of the ancient faith, and never obtained influence in the Church. The Christ of Judaism was an anointed man, after the model of the old kings and prophets of history; greater than they were in stature, but not intrinsically more divine.

Now the first Christians were Jews. Primitive Christianity was a belief in the Messiahship of Jesus; a belief that Jesus of Nazareth was the Christ. This point is very prominent in the Gospel histories. After the death

* See Baur's *Dreieinigkeit*, Vol. I. pp. 46–59.

of Jesus, the disciples were greatly exercised with the problem of reconciling his suffering and death with his Messianic claims. In the Acts of the Apostles, the proclamation of the Messiah's coming and resurrection seems to have been the burden of Apostolic preaching. This book labors also to represent Paul as a legally righteous Jew. He is persuaded by James to make a public profession of his faith in the Hebrew rites, and to this end he takes upon him the Nazarite's vow, thus convincing the people that those things whereof they had heard concerning him, namely, that he denied the utility of circumcision and the binding obligation of other Jewish ordinances, were untrue. (Acts xxi. 20–26.) Hegesippus, describing in glowing words the activity of James, calls him "a true witness both to Jews and Greeks that Jesus is the Christ." Christianity was a heresy among the Jews; as such it is described in the Acts (xxiv. 5; xxviii. 22). In no point of doctrine did it overstep the limits or break through the lines of Judaism. The idea of a Messiah had long been familiar to the Hebrew theology, had even been cast into a peculiar mould. All Jews accepted the doctrine of the Christ. Some contended that he had not appeared, and looked for him in the future. Others were assured that Jesus of Nazareth was he. This was the whole controversy between the Jew and the Christian. The Christians regarded themselves as the only orthodox Jews, and were regarded by their opponents as schismatics. A great deal of evidence might be accumulated upon this point, did not our limits forbid. It is an historical fact, that the Jewish Christians of Palestine continued in close connection with the Hebrew synagogue, even later than the time of the Apostles. Josephus never speaks of the Christians as if they were sundered from the Jewish communion. Sulpicius Severus tells us, that up to the time of Hadrian the Christian bishops were circumcised. All the productions of the earliest Christian period not merely recognize, but insist, that Christianity was only the genuine Judaism. Hegesippus calls the Christians the "tribe of Judah." The letter of James addresses them as the "twelve tribes who are scattered abroad." The Clementine Homilies are full of this idea. The Clementine Recognitions assert, "The Jews were in error concerning the first coming of

the Lord, and that is the sole quarrel between them and us." In one passage of this work, Peter has these words put into his mouth: "The sole controversy which we who believe in Jesus have with the unbelieving Jews is this, — whether Jesus be that prophet whom Moses foretold should come." Tertullian says: "The Jews even now expect the advent of Christ; nor is there any other disagreement between us and them, than their unwillingness to believe that he has already come." But we have no space to multiply testimony.* Regarding it as established that the Christians were simply Jews, who believed as an historical fact that the Messiah had come, it follows that their Messiah was no other than the Jewish Messiah, answering the common expectation, and similar in all respects to the Old Testament prophets. But before we proceed to verify this position, another point of great historical importance must be noticed.

These original Jewish Christians were called Ebionites. Much has been written about the Ebionites. The later fathers of the Church discarded them as heretics, but there is abundant proof of their having been the orthodox Christians of an earlier day, the true primitive believers. To state the grounds for this opinion would carry us too far aside from our direct way. We content ourselves with referring to copious authorities. †

This identity of the Christians with the Ebionites is a fact of greatest moment. It furnishes the historical basis for our inquiry into the earliest views respecting the nature and function of Christ. We know what the Ebionites believed. The following is a passage from Eusebius, who is giving an account of Origen's Tetrapla and the translations of Symmachus. Moreover, it ought to be observed that Symmachus was an Ebionite. "These Ebionites are such as say Christ was born of Joseph and Mary, and suppose him to have been a mere man; and contend that the law ought to be kept after the manner of the Jews, as we have before shown." ‡ Again, Eusebius says: "Some, who are not to be moved by any

* For other evidence see Schwegler, *Das nachapostolische Zeitalter*, Vol. I. p. 91, et seq.

† See Schwegler, Vol. I. p. 22, et seq., 104, et seq.; Baur, *Tub. Zeitschrift*, 1836, III. p. 128; Planck, *Das Princip d. Ebionitismus*, Theol. Jahrb. 1843, I.

‡ *Eccles. Hist.*, Lib. VI. cap. 17.

means from their respect for the Christ of God, are in some things very infirm. They are called by the ancients Ebionites, because they have but a low opinion of Christ, thinking him to be a mere man, born of Joseph and Mary, honored for his advancement in virtue." Athanasius writes, that "the Jews at that time (meaning at the time of Christ) being in an error, and thinking that the expected Messiah would be a mere man, of the seed of David, for that reason the blessed Apostles in great wisdom first instructed the Jews in the things concerning our Saviour's humanity."* Such was the belief of the earliest Ebionites respecting Christ. So thought the Nazarenes likewise; honoring him as a just man, and even maintaining that his sinlessness commenced at the time of his baptism. It is not concealed that many of the later Nazarenes and Ebionites held a different view of Jesus. Origen tells us, that some of the Ebionites believed Jesus to have been born of a virgin. Jerome asserts the same of the Nazarenes. This doctrine might have prevailed when these fathers wrote; but the intimate connection of the two sects with Judaism, and the character of the doctrine itself, forbid our taking it for the original creed. It was early, but not first. Later still, when the primitive Hebraism had been corrupted, Jewish Christians taught that Christ was an archangel; but the fact would not justify us in asserting that this was the faith of Jewish Christians. The simplest belief is the earliest. The nature of Christ would be exalted only when his function was magnified. We are forced to say, therefore, that the first Christians regarded their Messiah as a mere man, born of common parents, endowed with a human nature, and afterwards filled with the Holy Spirit of God.

So far as we may learn from notices few and scanty, this was the doctrine of the ancient "Gospel according to the Hebrews"; a Gospel which, as its title imports, was a production of Jewish thought, and probably the oldest Christian document. Schwegler says, "Not one of the later Gospels can produce in its favor so long and continuous a line of witnesses."† "The supposition that the 'Gospel according to the Hebrews' was

* See Lardner, X. 103. † Vol. I. p. 203.

an apocryphal book is wholly without foundation." This production was exclusively used by the Ebionite Christians till the middle of the second century, after which period it fell into disrepute, as containing the opinions of heretics. While it flourished, we have no certain proof that any other Gospels existed;* on their appearance, it slowly retired from view. The advance of speculation left it behind to perish. Its virtue passed into our canonical Scriptures. Epiphanius tells us that this primitive Gospel commenced with the appearance of John the Baptist, omitting the genealogies and the accounts of Christ's infancy. Jerome cites a passage from the book, as follows: "It happened when the Lord came up from the water, the whole fountain of the Holy Spirit descended and alighted upon him, and said to him, My Son, in all the prophets I have been expecting thy coming that I might rest upon thee." Epiphanius quotes the same Gospel in different language, and adds, "There was a voice from heaven which said, 'Thou art my beloved Son, *this day have I begotten thee.*'" The two accounts do not wholly coincide. It is probable that the document underwent many changes, and that Epiphanius gets his account of the baptism from a later recension. Both, however, are thoroughly Jewish in their character; both suppose Jesus to have been inspired at his baptism; Epiphanius expressing this even more strongly than Jerome. Notwithstanding the inconsistencies of Epiphanius himself, in speaking of the Ebionite Gospel, and the obvious discrepancies between him and other fathers, its character is clearly defined by negative, if not by positive marks. It may or may not have contained incidents from the childhood of Jesus; it does not appear to have contained any thing inconsistent with the Jewish conception of Messiah. There is no evidence that it mentioned at all the miraculous birth of Christ, who in one passage is represented as saying, "I am he of whom Moses prophesied, saying, 'A prophet will the Lord your God raise up to you from your brethren, like unto me.'"

We come now to our canonical Gospels. The Gospel of Matthew has close affinities with that of the He-

* Schwegler, Vol. I. pp. 214, 263.

brews, having grown out of it, as some think.* However that may be, its dogmatic import is very similar. Thus far we have seen that the nature of Christ has been treated in a manner wholly Jewish. He is a mere man, subject to all the conditions of a created being, and distinguished from other mortals only by the spiritual preparation for his Messianic office which was given him at his baptism, the supply without measure of the Holy Spirit. Now this is the doctrine that characterizes Matthew's Gospel. The writer usually applies to Jesus the title, "Son of David." He is anxious to note every fulfilment of an Old Testament prophecy, not seldom wresting the Scripture to his purpose. Through the entire Gospel, great stress is laid upon the historical proof that Jesus is the Christ. These are significant facts. The prominence given to the genealogy, which argues that Christ was of mortal birth, and to the baptism, which implies that the Holy Spirit was his by special gift, not by inherent right, is a very obvious feature. Other things almost too plain to mention are the birth in Bethlehem, the flight into Egypt, parallel with Moses's return thither, at all events introduced out of regard to an old saying, the temptation, and the transfiguration, which is peculiarly Jewish. Christ's emphatic assertion that John was Elias, his presursor, and Peter's solemn confession, "Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God," with Jesus's response to it, will occur, to a casual reader, as indications of a like kind. The mode of Christ's entry into Jerusalem, the shouts of the populace, and the answer made to the high-priest's adjuration, also bear testimony to the same doctrine. The Christ of Matthew is subject to natural necessities, to inward conflict and sorrow, and to distress of soul. He is mortal in the strictest sense. His Jewish nature and function are early expressed in Matt. i. 21, where the name "Jesus" is formally given to him by an angel, and it is declared that he is "to save his people from their sins."

In fact, the Hebrew conception of Christ characterizes the first Gospel. The writer, however, inserts passages which imply the existence of a higher doctrine. The most remarkable of these is the account of the Christ's

* Schwegler, Vol. I. p. 231, et seq.

miraculous birth, which is entirely inconsistent with the genealogy and the baptism, the first plainly asserting his human origin, the second suggesting it by the circumstance that he was not inspired until he was thirty years old. The miraculous birth does not of necessity imply a preëxistence, though it does a superhuman nature. Christ forgives sins. But this may not have transcended the powers of Messiah.* The phrase, "Son of God," which Dorner lays great stress upon, is only a Messianic title. Other attributes ascribed to Jesus by Matthew seem pointedly inconsistent with the Hebrew doctrine, but they may not be. Such are his power of imparting miraculous gifts; the declaration that, where two or three are gathered together in his name, he is in the midst of them; the superiority of the Messiah to David; his continual presence with his disciples.† No matured theory can be inferred from the writer's indefinite language. We cannot say that he ascribes to Jesus a superhuman essence, though he evidently attaches some quality to him which is above the ordinary attributes of Messiah. Even the passage (xxviii. 18) wherein Christ claims for himself all power in heaven and in earth, is not decisive of any thing beyond a human nature. But there is one text about which there can be very little doubt. It is Matt xi. 27: "All things are delivered unto me of my Father; and no man knoweth the Son, but the Father; neither knoweth any man the Father save the Son, and he to whomsoever the Son will reveal him." This verse stands entirely alone, not only disconnected with the rest of the Gospel, but foreign to its spirit. Possibly the Ebionite Christ might have spoken such words in a moment of exaltation and rapture; but the language is too obviously dogmatical for that. It is not probable that such phraseology has a merely ethical significance. It is more than doubtful whether it conveys so little as the broadest claim to Messianic dignity. The passage seems to belong to a different class of speculations from the Jewish, and contains a metaphysical conception of Christ which a Jew could hardly have entertained at that early period.

* See 2 Samuel xii. 13; Isaiah vi. 5–7; Zech. iii. 4; Wetstein *in loc.* Matt. ix. 6.

† See Wetstein in Matt. xviii. 20; xxviii. 18–20; and Kuinoel.

Speculation upon the nature of Jesus was of rapid growth. It was so by the exigency of the case. The character of Jesus himself was too great for confinement within the limits of common Jewish thought. He transcended the vulgar conception of Messiah. And not only that, he violated it palpably in his death. The Jew thought that the Christ would live for ever. But Jesus is nailed to the cross. His claim to be the Christ has no validity, then, unless the conception of the Christ can be enlarged. Death itself must be regarded as a step toward his exaltation. This involved a more intimate connection with the Deity than was familiar to the Hebrew mind; it also rendered necessary an enlargement of his authority, an extension of his sphere. This process must have commenced soon after the death of Jesus, and gone forward unequally according to prevailing tendencies of thought. Matthew's Gospel, written for Jews, and from the Jewish theory, contains, as we have seen, only one or two traces of the new ideas. Making no account now of passages whose meaning is doubtful, the writer adds to the primitive Ebionite belief the doctrine that Jesus was born of a virgin. This is his contribution to the thought of his age.

The Gospel of Luke contains a doctrine substantially the same with Matthew's. The field of Christ's activity is more extended. He is the Christ of the Gentiles as well as of the Jews; but he is the same Jewish Messiah still. In the first two chapters of Luke, we find nothing but the Christ of old Hebrew prophecy. There is a genealogy constructed for the Gentiles, which traces the lineage of Jesus, not to Abraham, the father of the Hebrews, but to Adam, the parent of all mankind, nay, to God, whose offspring all nations are. The Spirit descends at the baptism, though Luke too inserts the miraculous birth in curious contradiction to his prevailing doctrine. Christ is tempted, is transfigured, and the Holy Spirit that inspires him is distinctly separated from himself. He is expressly called a prophet. One of the most complete statements of the Ebionite creed anywhere to be found occurs in Luke xxiv. 19: "Jesus of Nazareth, which was a prophet mighty in deed and word before God and all the people." The following verses, also, including the 27th, which tells how Christ, "beginning at

Moses and all the prophets, expounded in all the Scriptures the things concerning himself," are very suggestive, and seem to be the burden of the whole Gospel. Luke adds nothing to the Christology of Matthew. He has in common with him those shadowy passages which dimly hint at higher views of Christ's nature; but on the whole, the impression is more consistently and thoroughly Jewish. Especially is this the case at the commencement and close of the book, where we should expect to find the strongest assertions of a dogmatical character.

The Gospel of Mark contains little that is singular. It seems to be the purpose of the writer to avoid being peculiar, to shun positiveness. Throughout the work he betrays an anxiety to harmonize the discordant opinions that were prevailing among the Christians. But the general tone of the Gospel is Ebionitic, slightly colored by speculations of a different kind. Mark says nothing of an immaculate conception, and omits the genealogy; he makes no mention of the birth or the youth of Christ. In the very first verse he writes, "Jesus Christ, the Son of God," as if to exclude all theories about him, or it may be to indicate something mysterious in his descent. But that is not very evident. There are one or two rather dark intimations that the writer of the second Gospel received the supernatural birth of Jesus. His father is never alluded to. In chap. iii. 31, his brothers and mother are spoken of together; and in chap. vi. 3, where the corresponding passage of Matthew reads, "Is not this the carpenter's son? Is not his mother named Mary?" Mark has it, "Is not this the carpenter, the *son of Mary?*" But no great stress can be laid upon such doubtful expressions. De Wette finds traces of Docetism in the account of the passion. The inference of the centurion that Jesus was the son of a god, from the fact "that he so cried and gave up the ghost," and the astonishment of Pilate on hearing that he was so soon dead, are thought to exhibit the same tendency. But it is very uncertain. Such allusions would hardly attract our notice but for a saying of Irenæus, that "they who separate Jesus from the Christ, and assert that the impassible Christ was unaffected (*perseverasse*), but that Jesus suffered, prefer the Gospel which is according to Mark." The Christ of the second Gospel is the Jewish

Messiah, though faintly sketched. The strong Hebrew traits of Matthew's Christ are almost obliterated. He is baptized; is once called the Son of David, but by a blind man; is confessed by Peter to be the Christ; and is hailed as such by the people, who cry, "Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord. Blessed be the kingdom of our father David, which cometh in the name of the Lord." These incidents present to us the shadowy form of the old Jewish Christ, as it is changing almost imperceptibly into another shape. He is losing his identity, but still is no other than himself, though not wholly himself. The human outline is yet distinct, though its edges are slightly blurred and hazy, as if the figure were softening, melting into the angelic.

With the Gospel of Mark one phase of belief is closed. The primitive faith of the Christians about Jesus, the faith so clearly expressed in the book of Acts: "Jesus of Nazareth, a man approved of God by miracles and signs"; — "Jesus whom God made to be lord and Christ"; — "Jesus, the holy child of God, whom he anointed"; — "Jesus of Nazareth, whom God anointed with the Holy Spirit and with power, who went about doing good and healing all who were oppressed by the devil"; — "Jesus, whom God raised up from the seed of David, according to his promise, to be a Saviour unto Israel"; — this original faith of the Jews is becoming corrupt. Already, in Matthew, Luke, and Mark, inconsistent elements are mingled with it; and time increases their proportion.

The Epistle of James, in other respects one of the most curious and significant productions of the early Christian times, contains no peculiar theory concerning Christ. There is nothing that requires notice in the letter of Jude. But the Apocalypse and the First Epistle of Peter demand especial attention. Their doctrine is one step in advance of that of the first three Gospels. The writer of the Petrine Epistle dwells chiefly upon the function of Christ, leaving his nature to be inferred therefrom. Believers are sprinkled with the blood of Jesus Christ (i. 2). The spirit of Christ was in the ancient prophets, testifying beforehand his sufferings and glory (i. 11). Christ was foreordained before the foundation of the world; and by his precious blood the Christians are re-

deemed from the foolish course of life received by tradition from their fathers (i. 18, 19). "His own self also bare our sins in his own body on the tree" (ii. 24). "He died, the just for the unjust, that he might bring us to God" (iii. 18). After his crucifixion, he went and preached to the departed spirits who had been disobedient and unbelieving in the time of Noah. "He is gone to heaven and is on the right hand of God; angels and authorities and powers being made subject to him" (iii. 19–22).

It is impossible to say precisely what these passages mean. Probably the writer himself attached no very exact meaning to them, and had framed in his mind nothing like a metaphysical notion of Christ corresponding to them. His expressions exhibit no matured theory; but their general tone is wholly foreign to the character of the Gospels of Matthew, Mark, and Luke, and argues at least the commencement of a new order of ideas.

The Apocalypse, like the First Epistle of Peter, is rather suggestive of higher speculations than demonstrative of them. The book, in every point of its dogmatics, is thoroughly impregnated with the spirit of Judaism. We have the wrathful national God, the frightful judgment, the exaltation of the morally righteous, the judicial form of retribution, and the high rank assigned to the prophets. We have, too, a Messiah who is a man of war, riding through seas of blood, with eyes as a flame of fire; he rules the nations with a rod of iron; he treads "the winepress of the fierceness and wrath of Almighty God." Christianity is identified with Judaism; the faithful are all Jews; the one hundred and forty-four thousand who are sealed are of the tribes of the children of Israel. The "temple of God" survives the desolation of Jerusalem, being secured miraculously from destruction. The Jews only stand upon Zion, next the throne of God; they alone learn the new song. None but the chosen Jews dwell in the heavenly Jerusalem, the approach to which is by twelve gates. These twelve gates are the twelve Apostles; and it is a striking evidence of the intensely Jewish character of the Apocalypse, that Paul, the Apostle to the Gentiles, is thus passed by in silence, if not absolutely excluded. Nay, it is by no means certain that he is not ranked among false teachers.* With this

* Apoc. ii. 2. See Schwegler, Vol. I. p. 172.

Hebrew cast of thought, we should expect to find the Hebrew type of Messiah in all its purity. But in this we are disappointed. The Christ of the Apocalypse transcends the common Jewish idea. There are three remarkable points in the Christology of this book. Christ is called "the beginning of the creation of God" (iii. 14). The attributes and the name of Jehovah are applied to him repeatedly (i. 17; xxii. 13; ii. 8). And in one passage, the title "Word of God" (ὁ λόγος τοῦ Θεοῦ) is bestowed upon him (xix. 13). The dignity implied in these predicates is not of necessity so great as it would at first seem to be. The expressions have an Apocalyptic indistinctness. It is not certain even that they bear a dogmatical significance. The phrase, "beginning of the creation of God," is of very doubtful import. It seems to mean that Christ was the first created being, if not the creative principle itself. But such a thought would be strange in a book which nowhere else ascribes personal preëxistence to the Messiah. The language may refer to the "new name" of verse 12, in which case an interpretation would be easy. The name of the Messiah, according to the Rabbins, was one of the seven things created before the world. Ten things were likewise created with the world: among which were the rainbow, the Worm Schamir, and the muzzle of Balaam's ass. Preëxistence, then, in the Talmud being an attribute of all possible things, implied no essential dignity, but was a mere title of honor. Such may be the sense here. More probably, however, the text obscurely intimates an inherent loftiness of rank in Christ. It designates him not as the original of created things, nor as the first-born of created things, but as the chief or top of the universe; the being in reference to whom the world was made. Such a view accords better with the writer's purpose, which is rather to impress the imagination by bold figures than to convey doctrines to the mind by the narrow way of metaphysics. His ideas are nebulous. The more dazzling his images, the less substantial are they. We are confirmed in the opinion, that the language we have been noticing is not to be construed according to severe dogmatical rules, by the character of the other titles applied to Christ. In chap. xxii. 13, he is called "Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the end, the first and the last."

De Wette thinks that, according to the parallelism with chap. xxi. 5 and chap. i. 8, and the phrase "his commandments," verse 14, these words are only a repetition of what God has been saying, delivered by the mouth of Christ, or inserted by the writer, and are not to be considered as descriptive of the person of Jesus. The fact, that Jesus is introduced in verse 16 speaking in his own name, seems rather to favor this explanation. But allowing the force of what De Wette says, the same attributes are plainly ascribed to Christ in another passage, chap. i. 17. Also in ii. 8, wherein Jesus is called "the first and the last." "Alpha and Omega," "beginning and end," "first and last," are equivalent expressions. According to Isaiah (xliv. 6; xlviii. 12) the phrase "first and last" is descriptive of Jehovah. It is, of course, impossible that the writer of a book like the Apocalypse should have ascribed to Christ the nature of Jehovah. Such a thought would have been utterly abhorrent to him. His mind could not have comprehended it. Indeed, the strongest epithet he has forborne to apply to Jesus. He has not described him as the being "who is, who was, and who is to come," as he describes Jehovah in chap. i. 8. But if the words he uses are not to be taken in their exact and wonted sense, they can be understood in none but a figurative or mystical sense. The exalted title of Jehovah is doubtless signified by the "new name" "which none but the receiver knows," which was written upon the Messiah. The one hundred and forty-four thousand have the Father's name written upon their foreheads. Upon the elect are inscribed the name of God, and the name of the city of God, the New Jerusalem, and the Messiah's new name. This remarkable association of three subjects with the unutterable name of Jehovah, which is obviously to be understood in each case, is suggestive. An old rabbinical tradition says, that three things are called by the name of God; to wit, righteous men, the Messiah, and Jerusalem: the righteous from Isa. xliii. 7; Messiah from Jerem. xxiii. 6; and Jerusalem from Ezek. xlviii. 35. It is not at all improbable that the Apocalyptic writer, familiar as he doubtless would be with the fanciful legends of the Talmud, should avail himself of this tradition; and the singular association of names in chap. iii. 12 makes it almost certain

that he has done so. Christ, therefore, according to this interpretation, bears the *name* of Jehovah, and not his nature. Still the question remains, what conception could the writer have formed of Christ? No old-fashioned Jew, thinking soberly, would have applied such epithets to the Messiah. Neither of the first three Evangelists would dream of speaking about their Jesus of Nazareth in such language as John uses in the Apocalypse. The Christ must have been above the ordinary Jewish type to bear such honors. Probably the expressions we have been commenting upon are equivalent to those first explained. "The first and the last" conveys about the same meaning as "the beginning of the creation of God." It indicates the same kind and degree of dignity. No doubt its whole significance would be exhausted by calling Jesus in some indefinite, poetical way, the climax or top of creation.

In chap. xix. 13, another title is given to Christ. He is called "the Word of God." That this is but another form of the "new name" which figures so conspicuously, is apparent from the preceding verse. In the Targums, the phrase is very commonly used for the name of Jehovah. We may, therefore, give the same explanation to this passage which we gave to the last. The name of Jehovah is applied to the Messiah. De Wette thinks that the writer, by calling Christ "the Word of God," means to designate him as the bearer of the Word, the perfect expression of the Divine truth and will. It matters little which interpretation we accept. One thing is clear; this "Word of God" has no affinity with the Logos of the fourth Gospel. The phrase itself reminds us much more of Chaldæan than of Grecian thought. The fourth Evangelist and Philo speak of the Logos as of a person, without any qualifying epithet. But the genuine Hebrew would consider the "Word" only as an attribute of God, and would speak of it accordingly.

We conclude, then, that the Apocalypse does not ascribe to the Messiah a conscious preëxistence. It surrounds him with a haze of glory. It magnifies him not so much to the theological vision as to the warm imagination of the believer. It assigns to him a certain superhuman or angelic nature, which, however, is too indistinct for dogmatical purposes. Superhuman it clearly is.

Little is said in the Apocalypse about the office of Christ. The character of his mediatorial function is not specified at all. He has washed Christians from their sins in his own blood (i. 5). He has redeemed men to God by his blood, out of every kindred and tongue and people and nation (v. 9). He is King of kings and Lord of lords. But the dead, small and great, stand before God to be judged (xx. 12), not before Christ.

To understand the Christ of the Revelations, we must bear in mind that the writer's conception is not the result of his pure speculative thinking, but an inference rather from his practical views. Through his eager expectation of the second advent, he contemplates the Messiah. This accounts for the indistinctness of his idea. Logic engraves its figures in sharp, cold outline; hope and ardent longing embody themselves in shapes vast and dim, but glowing with rich, warm coloring. In the general tenor of the book, which is occupied chiefly with allegorical descriptions, Jesus appears simply as the Jewish Christ. In one passage of pure imagination he is called "the lion of the tribe of Judah, the root of David." At the beginning and close of the book, where ecstasy has the field to herself, the more exalted character is assigned him. It might almost be said that there are two separate Christs in the Apocalypse. And so there would be, did we regard the author as a theologian. But he is none. He is no abstract thinker. There is no Gentile philosophy in him. He is an enthusiastic Jew. It is a Jew's imagination, a Jew's burning hope, that creates this Christ.

The prominent feature of the Apocalypse is its Chiliasm. The whole purpose of the book is to comfort the Christians under persecution. In their bloody and fiery trial they are exhorted to sustain themselves by the faith that Christ will soon appear to receive and bless his own. The kingdoms of the earth are to pass away. The greatness of the world is to perish. The New Jerusalem will speedily descend from the clouds, and the reign of gladness and peace will begin. Of course he who, under God, is the grand mover in this mighty work, must be adequate to his office. He who is to abolish an effete Judaism, and to hurl down to ruin a regal Paganism, can be no less than "King of kings, and Lord of lords,"

—"the Prince of the kings of the earth." He who commences and completes the destruction of the majestic empires of the world can be nothing inferior to the "chief of the whole creation of God,"—"the first and the last." He whose Gospel appoints the doom of myriads,—who can he be, but the impersonated "Word of God"? His name must be above every name.

To sum up now the results of our inquiry. We have discovered four Christologies, or forms of doctrine concerning Christ, in the writings we have noticed.

1. The primitive Jewish form, which teaches that Christ is the Messiah;—the son of David foretold by the prophets, born of human parents, raised up and inspired to be the redeemer of Israel. He is called Jesus of Nazareth. His nature is purely a human nature.

2. The form exhibited in Matthew and Luke; which is substantially the same as the foregoing, with two or three additions. Christ is born of a single human parent, being the son of Mary and the Holy Spirit; he is transfigured; is raised from the dead; and is to come again with might and glory. He imparts miraculous gifts; is present with his Church; follows his disciples to the end of the world; and is intrusted with all power in heaven and earth.

3. The form contained in the second Gospel. This is distinguished by its want of peculiarity. It is neither specifically Jewish nor Gentile. It seems to mark a transition period. This indistinctness would alone entitle it to be considered by itself, even if the dim intimations of a Docetic tendency, and the remark of Irenæus before quoted, will not justify us in regarding it as a separate type.

4. The decidedly novel form in the First Epistle of Peter, and the Apocalypse. In these books Christ is the chief of the creation of God,—the first-born of the dead; he is called by the name of Jehovah; he was preordained before the foundation of the world; his spirit existed in the Old Testament prophets; he redeems men by his blood; bears their sins in his own body on the cross; dies, the just for the unjust; preaches in hell to the departed spirits; is exalted at the right hand of God, above angels, authorities, and powers.

The critics whose opinions we are unfolding take

especial pains to say that these diverse Christologies are by no means to be regarded as different aspects of the same historical person. It is not one identical character who is thus presented in several lights, according to the spectator's temperament and level of vision. Each writer describes a personage of his own; a distinct ideal man; peculiar in his origin, his nature, and his function. The original Christians would object to the Christ of Matthew; the Christ of Matthew would not satisfy Mark; the Christ of Mark would be too unsubstantial for Peter; — the difference of view depending not upon the writer's posture toward Christ, but upon the figure of Christ himself, as viewed from the speculations of one or another age.

But how shall we account for such remarkable phases of doctrine concerning the Christ? Whence came the impulse which drove the Jewish thought through such transformations? It came from two sources; one inward and one outward. It came first from the actual character and life of Jesus.* If these transcended the common Hebrew ideal of the Christ, if his interior qualities were finer, broader, deeper, more spiritual, than the Jews understood, such a fact must have materially affected the speculations about him. He could not long have been regarded merely as the Jewish Messiah. He would soon be invested with superior attributes. Men would not be content with saying that the Spirit descended upon him at his baptism; they would rather have it woven into the texture of his being and connected with his very origin. They would call him by more exalted names; would surround him in their thoughts with an atmosphere of mysterious grandeur; would see something superhuman in his destiny, something supersensual in his relation to mankind. Framing a theory of him and his mission to accord with the impression he produced upon their minds, they would fill up many a blank in his history with hypotheses, and inferences that passed with them for facts. It is exceedingly difficult, indeed it is wholly impossible, to say what influence of this kind the actual character of Jesus exerted upon after-speculation;

* On this point, see a dissertation by Dr. Planck, entitled "Judenthum und Urchristenthum," in the *Theol. Jahrbücher*, 1847, Nos. 2, 3, and 4.

for all we know of that character is found in the writings which contain the speculation also. We have no narrative of the bare historical facts concerning Jesus. The several biographers record different incidents, which awaken different trains of thought, and suggest different views of Christ, even if they were not brought together in accordance with such views at first. But notwithstanding this difficulty, it is easy to conceive in general how the spiritual life of Jesus should have been instrumental in enlarging men's ideas of his nature and destiny.

Again, the Jewish mind had been softened and beguiled of its old, unbending stiffness by graceful speculations from the East. The impassable gulf between the finite and the infinite had been filled up with angelic beings. Hosts of angels, rank above rank, in endless gradation, reached all the way from man to God. This belief in intermediate spirits, as it became more and more familiar to the Jew, could not fail to connect itself with his Messianic hope. He would have no scruple about attaching some angelic attributes to the Christ, thus blending strangely the human and the superhuman in his nature. There can be no doubt that this was actually done. For the Jews were no metaphysicians, and were not exact in discriminating philosophically between the congruous and the incongruous elements of a spiritual being.

But the impulse to speculation upon the nature of Christ came chiefly from without. The outward circumstances of the Church developed the ideal conception of the Church's founder. While Christianity was mere Judaism, and the office of the Christ was simply the restoration of the Jews, a purely national and exclusive work, he needed no higher faculties or endowments than belonged to the popular Messiah. He might be intrinsically no greater than David or Samuel or Moses, and yet accomplish the mission whereunto he was sent. But when the sphere of Christianity was widened, so as to include the Gentile as well as the Jew, and the influence of Christ, no longer national, was extended to the pagan nations also, it became necessary to exalt his character in proportion to the breadth of his dominion. The greatness of the king must be commensurate with the greatness of his kingdom. Jesus must be placed at

an elevation sufficiently high to command the entire circumference of his sway. Moreover, the essential character of the Christ's errand was changed by the admittance of the heathen world into his empire. As Messiah of the Jews, he had a civil and political, as well as a religious, work to do. He was to restore that people at once to their national supremacy, and to their original posture of faith and acceptance. As Messiah of the Gentiles, his task must have been very different in all respects from this. But as the Christ both of the Jews and of the Gentiles, it became necessary that his office should touch something which all these people had in common; his Messianic power must have been directed to a point which was peculiar to neither, which was the same in both. This could not be political or social restoration; nor could it be the fulfilment of theocratic promises and privileges; it must be spiritual regeneration, redemption from sin, the saving of that immortal principle which was the same thing in all mankind, the common possession of Jew and Gentile, barbarian, Scythian, bond and free. But if this were the Messiah's office, if he were sent to bring all men back to God by delivering them from evil, his nature must be made to correspond with his function. And this explains the fact that Jesus is invested with certain peculiar attributes, or that a new significance is attached to his common Messianic attributes as the Redeemer of mankind. More stress is laid upon the spiritual side of his being; speculation turns upon the interior structure of his soul; his nature partakes of the angelic, and an efficacy altogether incomprehensible and miraculous is attached to his death.

Finally, the expectation of a second coming of Christ, an expectation early prevalent, and fostered by the many and sharp trials that afflicted the young Church, contributed greatly to his speculative elevation. Christians were persuaded that this second advent was close at hand. Stupendous events were on the eve of fulfilment. In a short time the empire of Satan was to be destroyed; of course, the agent in so mighty a work must be mighty, and the Christ of the Apocalypse is born naturally out of the heated imaginations and frenzied hopes of persecuted and outcast men. We are not, therefore, surprised at the various Christologies we have found even in these

few books of the New Testament. The external circumstances of Christendom — if we may speak of a Christendom as existing in the first century — forbade that Christ should be stationary in men's thoughts. That the field of his operations was gradually enlarged from the narrow borders of Judea to the wide boundaries of the world, from the political affairs of an insignificant state to the spiritual interests of all human souls, is an established historical fact, apparent in the Gospels, and described in the Acts. We should expect his own nature to expand in like degree. We should look to see the Jewish Messiah growing in men's thoughts to be "Prince of all the kings of the earth," and the plain Jesus of Nazareth rising to a super-earthly dignity as "chief of all the creation of God." O. B. F.

Art. II. — SELF-CULTURE OF WOMEN.*

Few subjects have attracted more attention of late than the question of woman's true social position. But much of the discussion has been conducted in a manner to exasperate prejudice and bring ridicule on those engaged in it. For while a great deal has been said of her natural and inalienable rights, little has been said of her duties and obligations; and still less, we fear, has been said, or even thought, of those means of self-culture by the improvement of which the mere question of social position becomes of small importance. Yet it is only by candid and dispassionate argument that whatever is wrong or injurious in her present relations can be rectified. Conventions and mass-meetings and resolutions, and the various apparatus of party warfare, will effect no good result, even if they do not alienate those who feel a deep interest in the subject, but distrust all extravagant action and inflammatory appeals. That the social

* *Thoughts on Self-Culture, addressed to Women.* By Maria G. Grey, and her Sister, Emily Shirreff, Authors of "Passion and Principle," and "Letters from Spain and Barbary." Boston: Wm. Crosby and H. P. Nichols. 1851. 12mo. pp. xv. and 464.

position now occupied by a large portion of the female sex is the best suited for the development of their faculties, or for the exercise of a healthy influence on their part, will hardly be claimed by any one. Nor will it be denied by any unprejudiced person, that woman is entitled, within some limitations, to the most thorough and comprehensive education that her intellect will admit, and to a liberal remuneration for her labor in every department in which she can work to advantage, if she chooses to remain single, or to some further legislative provision for the security of her private property, if she marries. On the other hand, none but ultraists and fanatics will maintain that the sexes are so constituted that they can occupy precisely the same fields of moral and intellectual action, any more than they can engage in the same branches of physical exertion. No one who truly honors the female sex, and whose opinion is worth any thing, will desire to see any woman enlisted in the fierce and angry strife of politics, or bending under the weight of cares designed only for the sterner sex. It is gratifying, therefore, to receive a carefully considered work, like that now before us, which aims at elevating the intellectual and moral condition of the female sex without indulging in vague declamation about the tyranny of men, or in devising impracticable schemes for the "emancipation of woman." Certainly, it is far better to elevate her present condition than to attempt any radical change, that could hardly fail to take her out of her true sphere and place her in a position which it should seem she was never intended to occupy. The writers before us understand this; and in their work they have confined themselves to a view of the subject which must commend it to every calm and thoughtful person.

In a brief but judicious Preface they very frankly state that

"They remembered the time when they themselves stood as young girls on the threshold of life; — their childhood, with its so-called education, behind them, — the untried future before. They remembered the painful sense of inconsistency between life as it appeared in reality, and the religious theory of life,— the consciousness of their own confusion of ideas, — the want of some comprehensive principle by which to regulate thought and action, of some real aim for exertion, — and the vain seek-

ing for some guiding thread to lead them out of this perplexing labyrinth into light and a straight path. At the cost of many years of struggle and trial, of failure and consequent suffering, they bought at last the experience they would so gladly have derived from other sources, and their aim is now to save such as may stand in the same position from this struggle which consumes the best years of youth, and absorbs, in seeking the path of duty, the energies which should be employed in following it. They have striven to place before the young that view of life which unites the present with the future, and harmonizes all its various phases into one continuous whole; — to point out those principles by which conscience may be enlightened, reason cultivated, the will brought into accordance with God's will, and the whole mind developed to that degree of perfection of which it is capable. In doing so, they have not aimed at originality or novelty, and they have gladly availed themselves of all the aid afforded by previous writers. The very choice of their subject precluded all ambition but that of being useful." — pp. v., vi.

No one, therefore, will be disappointed that the work has more of a practical than of a theoretical character, — that it is more noticeable for its power of analysis, clearness of statement, and soundness of tone, than for graces of style or an ambitious rhetoric. The writers themselves tell us, that "their highest hope has been to do good in their own generation, — to add their mite to the great treasury of human knowledge and improvement." This hope, we trust and believe, will be gratified. We cannot but think that a production of so great merit will exert a highly beneficent influence. We could have wished, however, that the treatment had been somewhat less dry and metaphysical, since the work would then have been brought within the sympathies of a larger number of readers. Still, it has many eloquent and beautiful passages; and we have not ourselves found it uninteresting or uninstructive.

A brief analysis of its contents will give our readers some idea of the manner in which the authors have fulfilled their task, and justify the grounds of this commendation. The first chapter is entirely preliminary in its nature, and is divided into two parts. In the first part the writers take a general view of the position and influence of women. It is contended that, whatever position they may hold in society, they always exercise an influence for good or for evil, according to the

moral and political state of the age, — either rendering it better if the elements of good predominate, or worse if the standard of morals be low. In our own time the defective education and inactive lives of most women tend to weaken their healthy influence, by making them frivolous and careless of the great interests which will be affected by them if they marry, or of that quiet labor for the good of others in which they may engage if they remain single. This subject is discussed at considerable length, with an examination of the duties which fall to their lot in the various relations of wife, mother, and single woman, and the preparation needful for the proper discharge of those duties. The following extract sums up much valuable wisdom.

"In the extreme uncertainty of woman's fate, over which she has no control, it may appear difficult to some to determine how they can prepare for positions so different as that of married or single life. We answer, that a sound and liberal education is all the preparation needed for either; not mere acquisition of knowledge, but an education that will call forth the mental powers, and train them to exercise and form a high and decided tone of moral character. When men prepare by a peculiar professional education for their future career, it is because some peculiar branch of knowledge, some technical information, or familiar acquaintance with certain methods or forms, are necessary for that profession, which are not requisite for others; but the possible varieties of woman's fate and avocations require no such preparation as this. The great requisite for them is the *general development* of the mind, as it *acts upon character*, that well-grounded and equable discipline of *all* the faculties, which makes them fit to labor should serious labor be required; that ready appreciation of all that is excellent and great; that wide sympathy with every real interest of mankind, which keeps heart and mind ever awake and active; — in a word, the habitual dwelling on the high ground where the mental and moral nature seem to blend in their mutual development, and which, if not the best training ground for attaining eminence in any special department of learning, is at least best fitted to give that tone to the whole mind which adds the weight of intellect to moral influence, and sheds the beauty of virtue and feeling over the exercise of mental power. She who by such an education is made most fit to be a truly valuable wife, most fit to acquit herself of the mother's high office, will also be most fit to stand alone, should such be her lot, to walk cheerfully on her way, guided by that light from above shining into the soul, which 'maketh all things light.'" — pp. 33, 34.

In the second part different views of life are considered in reference to their influence on education. It is maintained that higher views of life can alone improve the tone and elevate the standard of female education. Woman's intellectual training is shown to be inferior to her moral instruction; and the propriety of giving her a better education is then ably and successfully vindicated. This education should commence in youth, because then "the ardent nature and energetic impulses are unfettered by the world's prejudices, and unpolluted by the world's sophistries."

Having thus laid a broad and firm foundation for the further investigation of their subject, our authors proceed in the two following chapters to speak of the power and influence of habit, and the importance of forming right habits and of adopting some regular method as essential to all progress. The third chapter also contains some very acute and sensible observations on the difference between punctuality and method, and on the importance and value of economy. The necessity of method in the education of children is likewise well urged.

The fourth chapter is devoted to conscience and the government of the will. Conscience is regarded as the moral governor of our being; but reason is pointed out as an aid to its more effectual working, and the evil consequences flowing from the exclusive cultivation of either are admitted and explained. From this view arises the demand for a symmetrical cultivation of the character which is forcibly presented. Among other sound and practical suggestions, thoughtlessness, a fault so common in women, is censured; and the error of wishing a different sphere of duty is strongly and justly condemned.

The fifth chapter contains a somewhat elaborate disquisition on the love and pursuit of truth, and is divided into four sections. The value and beauty of truth are first considered; and the causes which have too often hindered a complete recognition of its value in other questions than those relating to physical science are briefly examined. The use of reason in the pursuit of truth is next treated; and the difference between moral proof and demonstrative evidence is explained, and the practical consequences of this difference are illustrated.

A consideration of the moral obstacles to the perception of truth naturally follows; and the influence of passion, prejudice, impatience of doubt, narrowness of mind, and intolerance, in dimming its perception, are severally exhibited. Freedom of inquiry, it is shown, does not necessarily lead to indifference; and to guard against its abuse, caution in expressing their own views and a wise deference to public opinion are inculcated as peculiarly necessary in women. The fourth section comprises an examination of the practical habits flowing from a love of the truth. There are good lessons for both sexes in the following paragraph.

"The commercial crisis of 1848, and the recent exposures of railway transactions, have but too clearly proved the real want of honesty amongst the wealthy and educated classes of this country [England], and that to an extent which throws a stain on our national character. The same want is apparent in the universal effort to substitute appearance for reality, show for substantial value. It meets us in the endless puffs which fill our newspapers, in the lavish decoration of the shops, which the profits of an honest trade could not cover, in the loud profession of principles, and the private practice of jobbing, in the sedulous attendance at church combined with more sedulous devotion to the world, in all the shams, in short, which daily cross our path and deceive our hopes. These, however, are but the external symptoms of the disease; its root lies deep in the education given to the young, and the motives of action held out to them. It is not our business here to speak of the education of boys, nor perhaps could our strictures be so justly applied to it. Generally speaking, we believe that boys and very young men think little of the world till they enter into it, except as the great arena in which they are to win the laurels of their boyish dreams. It is only after actual contact with it, that they become perverted by the general tone of society, and learn to think earnestness ridiculous, and real worth useless, when a counterfeit answers the purpose so well. But not so is it with women. From the hour that the little girl is told to hold up her head and be very good, *because* mamma has visitors, to that in which she is launched into society, adorned with every showy accomplishment, every art of dress and manner which can gain admiration and secure an establishment, the world is the one tribunal whose judgment she is taught to fear, appearance the one object for which she is taught to strive. Nor do we speak only of what is termed exclusively the great world. The daughters of the citizen, the shopkeeper, or the country squire have

each their world, great or small, to dress for, learn, dance, play, or sing for; and mothers, whether homely or fashionable, equally bestow their first care on their daughters' appearance. The exceptions are so few that they only prove the rule."—pp. 166, 167.

This is followed by a short chapter on the love of moral excellence as a means of self-culture, and a longer chapter on benevolence, with a digression on love and friendship, containing much wholesome advice. This portion of the work, which is more especially devoted to moral culture, is completed by a survey of the instruments of moral discipline. These are treated under the heads of self-knowledge, self-control, and decision of character. Their importance is strongly insisted upon; and all misapprehension as to their true nature is carefully guarded against, while the practical virtues which spring from them are shown to be those most important to woman amidst the trials and sorrows that may befall her.

Passing from this part of their subject, the writers now enter upon mental training, and in the ninth chapter proceed to speak of observation, attention, the association of ideas, and the cultivation of reason, with some remarks on the imperfection of language. The value of a general method of study is then considered; and the understanding of an author's meaning, the manner of forming opinions concerning what is read, and the retention of the arguments adduced by any author, are set forth as the three points chiefly to be regarded. The value of works of reference, the advantage to be derived from a practice of writing observations on the various works read, and the choice of books, form the remaining topics treated in this connection.

In regard to a choice of subjects for study, our authors naturally make a division into essentials and non-essentials. In the first class the Scriptures of necessity hold the first place. Next in importance are mathematics; and the beneficial effect of a study of them in disciplining the mind is very well exhibited. The objections to the study of moral and intellectual philosophy are then answered; and the importance of these branches to all engaged in education is enforced. After these, a decided preference is expressed for a critical study of the language and literature of one's own country, and for a thorough

acquaintance with its history. Some knowledge of politics and political economy is also deemed necessary; and the value of an acquaintance with general history and foreign languages is advocated. In conclusion, the difference between slight and superficial knowledge is stated, to obviate any objection that might be raised against the studies recommended.

The twelfth chapter treats of the love of knowledge as a natural impulse which requires cultivation. In the present age, knowledge is regarded less for its own sake than for the advantages that it will bring. Hence, the higher branches are less cultivated by women than the more showy accomplishments; and the effects of this are seen in the frivolous characters which too many display. The beneficial influences which a love of knowledge for its own sake would exert on them in the various trials incident to their position are then portrayed at length.

In the following chapter the limited importance attached to the culture of the imagination in English society, resulting from the commercial and practical character of the people, is considered; and the advantages arising from its proper cultivation, and the disadvantages of its unchecked growth, are skilfully traced. Enthusiasm, regarded as the product of an unsound mind, is condemned, whilst a love of the beautiful in nature, art, and poetry is highly recommended. The value of a cultivated imagination to all women, but more especially to persons of advanced years, is eloquently pointed out.

The concluding chapter is devoted to religion, which is treated more in connection with the essential principles of Christianity found in all sects and denominations, than with reference to points of dogmatic theology. The peculiarity of Christianity is defined as lying in its motives rather than in its doctrines. It has no creed; but it contains great principles applicable to all the circumstances of life. Hence the possibility of error should be regarded in all investigations into the doctrines of religion. Intolerance is shown, however, to be consistent in the Romish Church, but to be inconsistent with Protestantism. And to sum up all in a single line, our authors declare religion to be the crowning aim of self-education. Here their labors are fitly closed.

The strain of the following paragraphs, near the end of

the volume, will indicate the tone of the whole treatment of the subject of religion.

"Would that we had the tongue of men and of angels to impress these things on the hearts of women, to waken them from their long dream of vain or solèmn frivolity to a sense of the full power and importance of their influence on social improvement or decay! Would that we could convince them that Providence, by excluding them from the strife and struggle of public life, from the active competition for earthly rewards, has appointed them a nobler office, — the guardianship of every purer feeling which tends to a goal beyond this earth,— the training of that in the human soul which is immortal!

"But ere we can train this spiritual life in another, we must have trained it in ourselves. We must have made the principle of obedience to the whole of God's will, through love to him, as the source of goodness, wisdom, and truth, the governing idea of our system of life, the crowning aim of our self-education. We need not enter into any detail of the means which Christianity supplies for the training and fostering of this principle of spiritual life. The Gospel, with its high and unchanging standard, is in every hand, and the conscience which is deaf to its clear and simple precepts, the heart that wants any impulse stronger than its words of divine love and mercy, the soul that cannot be stirred by its glorious hopes, can gain nothing from human aid. We would rather dwell upon the influence of such a principle upon our daily life and character.

"That it is the fountain-head of every virtue is too obvious to need mentioning; but there are some virtues which are its more immediate and especial results, and by our progress in which we may best test the strength of religious principle in our own hearts. The deep humility which is the natural attitude of the mind habitually looking up to the type of Divine perfection; the wide and tender charity which reflects in human character and actions the benevolence of the Deity; the resignation which accepts every event as the result of His laws whose will is perfect goodness and perfect wisdom; the serene cheerfulness which springs from the peace of a heart whose treasure is garnered up there, 'where moth and rust doth not corrupt, nor thieves break through and steal';—these are the attributes by which the Christian should be known, — but if we apply the test, how many shall dare to call themselves Christians? We might almost say, that these are the features most generally absent from the character of those who claim for themselves, in our day, the exclusive right to be deemed religious; — or, at least, that the opposite defects of presumption, intolerance, irritability, and moroseness, too often give the tone to writing and speaking on religious sub-

jects. It has been truly said, that 'to be good and disagreeable is high treason against virtue,' and the saying applies with double force to religion. Judged by this standard, how many of us are traitors to their own faith! Some people seem to think, that, when they have obeyed the positive moral precepts of the Gospel, they have done all it was their duty to do. They care not how many hearts they repel, how many minds they disgust, by the unattractiveness of their piety, and seem to think that they best obey the precept of loving not the world, by giving the world every cause to hate them. Unfortunately, the dislike they so justly inspire is transferred from them to the faith they profess, and the noblest, the most benign, and the most comprehensive of religions is contemned as harsh, and low, and narrow, because harsh, and low, and narrow minds have adopted it for their own.* The verdict is a natural one; men judge of the tree by its fruits, and conclude that to be a bramble on which they find thorns instead of figs. If, then, we really love our religion, and wish to see its influence extended, we shall strive to make it beautiful and winning, no less than estimable. Had this been ever the aim of Christians, — had religion been ever inseparably connected, by the lives of its professors, with every thing that is noble in human aspirations, every thing tender and holy in human affections, every thing beautiful and refined which appeals to the taste and imagination of man, — we might still, indeed, hear the doubt of the sceptic, but it would be that scepticism only which doubts of virtue because incapable of believing in any thing but vice. We should be spared the deep pain of seeing good and high-minded men turning away from a religion dishonored and desecrated in their eyes by the character of its professors." — pp. 455 - 457.

We have left ourselves no space in which to add any thing to this analysis. We can only repeat, that though we are compelled to differ in some points with our authors, yet in the main we cordially agree with them, and gladly commend their volume to our readers.

C. C. S.

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* "See Foster's Essays. Essay on the Aversion of Men of Taste to Evangelical Religion."

Art. III.—CITIZENSHIP.

It is said that no age can understand itself. If it be so, we are certainly in a very bad case; for no age was ever so anxious to understand itself as this. Were it not for our intense interest in the subject, the incessant discussion of it would have become utterly wearisome. No literature ever bore such marks of self-reference and self-inspection. The old Indian lore, with its perpetual dream of absorption into the Divinity; the philosophy and poetry of Greece, as unconscious of all inward questioning as childhood; the stately verse, forensic debate, or academic disquisition of the Roman time; the scholastic learning and wild romance of the feudal age, — all these fail to exhibit any thing like the self-consciousness and self-questioning of the present day. It is, perhaps, a diseased sensitiveness to one another's opinion, springing from the freely developed activity and influence of so many minds. It is, we doubt not, a kind of democratic subserviency, — an extension of the individual self-consciousness, — a sort of collective "What will they think of it?" Nevertheless, we must fall a little into this way of the age, for it concerns the purpose we have in hand.

Now the age has doubtless many characteristics, but that which most impresses our minds, in our present view, is the *revolt against authority;* — not alone or chiefly against political authority, but against the authority of opinion, of all before-settled principles, whether political, religious, scientific, or social. Nothing stands fast. Every thing is disputed. Every thing has to be examined and settled over again. But more especially to the purpose of the present essay is it to observe, that from this revolt naturally springs a feeling of *personal individuality* before unknown in the world, or unknown as prevailing to the same extent. The revolt consists, in fact, in setting up individual opinion against all before-established opinion. Inquire into the inmost feelings of multitudes around you, and you will find it to be this: "I will think and do what I have a mind to." Conceive how few persons said that in the old Roman time, in the feudal time, or in any time before the present. Men adopted the opinions, with the vocation and social position, of their

fathers, — thought of nothing but to live and die in the same; and all, fathers and sons alike, were bowed down unresisting before the supreme authority of the state.

How different it is in this age, and especially with us in this country, is plain enough to be seen. We are a nation of individualities, — of individual forces and aims, — of men independently working out, to an unprecedented extent, our own life-problem. It is our own strength, in some views; it is the source of extraordinary energy, culture, and progress; it has made us such a people as never before existed in the world. But in other views, this individualism is a peril, which is to be thoughtfully considered.

Our modern civilization, and perhaps *our own especially*, is often branded as selfish, money-loving, and materialistic. The charge may well be questioned, and it would be strange if it were true; for what then would human *progress* mean? We are no more selfish, perhaps, than men were in former ages, nor more avaricious; "the love of money," which is only the most obvious and visible form of selfishness, has been declared to be "the root of all evil," from the beginning; and, most assuredly, there is not less spiritual development now than in former times. But the marked feature of our civilization seems to be, that all these passions exist in independent, individual forms and forces, as they never did before. Hence they are more demonstrative and noticeable. They break out into multiform action. A man in a stirring and excited multitude of people is more sensible of their presence, and more annoyed by them, and more disposed to rail at them, perhaps; but they were the same people before they came together. Modern life, compared with ancient, is like a *mêlée* or a tournament, compared with the routine of quiet and plodding toil.

Individualism in this country is seen in every thing. Every man acts for himself; does business for himself; labors for himself; — nay, *fights* for himself; the great difficulty with our troops in Mexico was to subordinate individual will and energy to military rule. We have no classes nor cliques, unless it be those of politics and fashion, and *these* do not move on in any fixed order. In the one, parties are continually splitting in pieces, and in the other, individual ambition is perpetually devising new

styles of living and modes of entertainment. No man builds his house, or cultivates his farm, or manages his factory, like another; he will have something that is *his own.* We have lately a new sort of *associations* springing up among us, but they only propose to give more power to the individual. What is it that the "Coöperative Labor Leagues" aim to do? Why, to break down the classes of grocers, coal-dealers, &c., and to establish joint-stock shops and trading-houses; to make "every workman a *copartner.*"

Of the same general character is a certain tendency to *isolation* that is seen among us; a disposition to seek some secure retreat from the great social bonds. With some it is a denial of the authority of government, — a refusal to vote, to accept office, or to have any thing to do with the government. With others, it is a disposition to retire from the professions; to escape from the social obligations, the routine and bondage of professional life, that is, from the being obliged to do, as professional men, what they would not do as free, individual men. With others, it is the ideal, all through their professional or business life, of building up some guarded retreat in the country, dedicated to repose, to ease, to luxury perhaps, but dedicated especially to isolation and freedom from all social importunities, where the man can live as he lists, — ay, as *he* wills, — with nobody to hurt, or annoy, or make afraid in all the mountain of his security.

Self-will, indeed, is one form, or rather effect, of our individualism, that deserves special attention. Revolt against authority is, of course, disobedience to authority. In the first form in which it naturally arises, in its instinctive and unreasoning assumption, it is self-will set up against every other will. A man says, "I will obey nothing but my own conviction, my own conscience." Now the *revolt*, perhaps, is right, but the *consequent assumption* is very likely to be rash and blind. The personal conviction, the personal conscience, that is rightly guided, will soon come to see that there is something besides itself that is to be obeyed. It will come to recognize a Power above, a moral law of the universe, and a welfare of the state, as having lawful authority over it. It has parted from one kind of obedience, but it must reason itself into another kind of obedience. If it abjures

dogma, it must bow to truth. If it disowns the house of Hanover, or Hapsburg, or Orleans, it must pay more than equal loyalty to a just, popular constitution. If it refuses implicit submission to arbitrary authority, it must freely set up instead everlasting principles. It must reason itself, we say, into a new kind of obedience. Now this is precisely what many have failed to do. They are just in that transition state, between the old and new authority, where *self-will* is their only law.

For proof of this, we would rather appeal to experience than to overt acts, restrained as they are by many considerations. We would appeal to thoughtful and self-observant men, whether they have not found the principle of self-will running with them to very inordinate lengths; whether they have not found it good and right to pause, to sit calmly down, and to meditate anew the great conditions of their being. "What is this that I am feeling," such a one might say, — "this resistance to submission, this self-sufficiency, this hostility to every thing that comes in the shape of a thing imposed, or bound, or laid upon me as a law or duty? What is it that I am saying with myself, — that I am all in all to myself, — that *my* reason is my only guide, *my* conscience my only law, — that *I* am the world, and the universe, and all but the Divinity to myself? Is there not an all-encompassing Order, an overshadowing awfulness of law and right, to which it is good and right for me to bow down? Does not my reason, my conscience, point to a throne of Infinite Authority above me? Am I not also the member of a community, bound to it by a thousand ties, bound to regard its welfare, bound to love and serve it? Is not *obedience*, then, *lowly obedience*, for me a good and reasonable thing, a sweet and holy thing, at once the fittest posture and the noblest and loveliest form, which a nature like mine can take?"

Now the bearing of all this upon the subject mentioned at the head of this article is sufficiently plain. Individualism and self-will, in the diseased state in which they commonly appear, are directly opposed to good citizenship. That is to say, as principles, and carried to their utmost length, they are so. There is a sphere forthem; and in that sphere the highest dignity attaches to them, and the highest importance. In the power of personal

will, it has been well said, man is likened to God. And individualism — that is, the free charge and care of one's self — is the indispensable condition of the highest human culture and progress. The value of this principle is not to be left in a moment's doubt or question. It lies at the bottom of our extraordinary national development and progress.

But while a man is thus free, and, as a condition of the highest culture, must act *from* himself, it is quite another question whether he shall act *for* himself. Here it is that we would interpose the most emphatic check to individualism. We say that every man is bound to be subordinate, subservient, obedient to the general good; to the good, first, of his neighbors around him, next, of the state, and last and highest, of the larger family of human kind. Fichte says, that the very end of the state is to draw men out of their individualism into subserviency to the general good of the race. It is certainly a sublime idea of the universal order and of the ultimate aim. But whether it is accepted or not, this at least is certain, that a state, or political community, *cannot be formed* without the yielding up, to a certain extent, of individual claims. The very *law* of its constitution is, that, within the proper limits of legal control, the private man shall do nothing to hurt or harm the commonwealth; and it is equally the very *spirit* of its constitution, that he shall do what he can to help and advance it.

The former specification embraces generally *criminal offences*, — we shall *not* do thus and so. But is there not a *positive* side to this obligation? Is our duty to the state limited to abstinence from crime? Does not the latter specification rather — the *spirit* of the constitution — open the sphere of real duties to the state, the sphere of good citizenship? In this light, at least, we wish now to present it.

Not serfdom, as to a despot, not loyalty, as to a king, but citizenship, the relation to the whole commonwealth, and the true spirit of that relation, — this is what we propose to consider. Montesquieu says, in the "Spirit of Laws," that "the principle of a despotic government is *fear;* of a monarchical, honor; and of a republican, virtue." What is this virtue?

We are not going to ring the usual changes upon the

general and the generally admitted ***necessity*** of virtue to a free state. This general statement, so hackneyed that it is almost as easily forgotten as it is easily recited, we wish to carry into detail; to press it home to persons, to individuals; to bring it to bear upon the spirit of our daily life, — upon the spirit of wealth, of learning, of religion, of education, of society, — upon every thing that we do or share in, as members of society.

Now it is a consideration too obvious to insist upon, and yet too important to omit at the outset, that in the free state, as compared with the despotic, there is a substitution of actors, of functions, of duties. The despotic government does every thing, instead of the people. It gives laws, preserves the public order, builds colleges and churches, hospitals and almshouses, and supports teachers of science and religion. In a free state, the people have all this to do for themselves.

Yet neither upon these obvious and ordinary duties of free citizenship do we propose to dwell. There needs, indeed, to be a more thorough understanding and consideration, and a more conscientious assumption, of *these* duties; and yet it may be admitted, perhaps, that in the main, and in a gross estimate, we have pretty well discharged them. We have made laws, and preserved order, and built colleges and churches and hospitals and almshouses, and provided for the maintenance of them all. For three quarters of a century our system has been sustained, and we have done more for the support of education and religion than any other country; we have made the government as stable, and the law as strong, as any country can show; and we have had fewer outbreaks and disorders than most of the nations in the Old World. It will not do, we think, any longer to deny the possibility of national self-government. That problem, at least, we have solved.

But we wish to carry our readers beyond this visible condition, to consider the interior life of the republic; to consider what is the spirit that it demands of its people; what spirit is necessary to develop all the energies, and to secure all the advantages, of this beneficent system. The happiness and improvement of a people depend not so much even upon law and order, not so much upon *any* institutions, as upon the spirit that governs it. Without

disinterestedness, without the spirit of brotherhood, without religion, no people can do well. Without these, the best, the freest institutions will only be the worse for them. Now, the very definition of a republic is, the *government of all for all.* What, then, should be the spirit of its people?

First, we say, a certain *disinterestedness*, — something beyond the general virtues of industry, honesty, temperance, fealty to the law, — a certain disinterestedness, — the old Roman patriotism, with a better direction. Not for any one person, not for any one class, is our political state established, but for all. To live, then, *not* for one's self, but to live for all, — this is its primary moral law. In a despotic government, selfishness is enthroned in the highest seat. And a man under such a government, living only for gain, for ease or pleasure, though he would indeed offend against humanity and against God, would not offend against the sovereignty of the land. That, perhaps, set him the example. But a man who lives that selfish life with *us* sins against the whole meaning and intent of the institutions that protect him. He has thanked the institutions, perhaps, for opening to him a free course to wealth or honor, and now he uses that wealth or honor to flout them in the face.

Let us attempt, in few words, to show what place disinterestedness has, and what offices it must discharge, in our system. It may sound in the ears of some like a kind of Quixotism to name the word in connection with any system of politics or society. *Interest*, we are sagely told, rules the world, and always will. Let it rule; let it have unobstructed sway among us; and see what are the consequences. Here, in our republic, there are no barriers to the popular will, to the popular tide; and we have seen that tide in these days rising with resistless force, all over the civilized world. If human nature were composed of only pure and harmless elements, all would be well. But alas! we know it better, and we know that the free condition for it is full of peril. In such a condition, the currents of evil, as well as the currents of good, have a free course. And what have we seen in our own country, with all its singular advantages, — a virtuous and intelligent ancestry, a sparse population, abundance of means, and a boundless new territory to relieve the pressure of

our social perils? We have seen a sad decline of political morality. We have seen a threatened repudiation of State debts. We have seen ignorance gaining ground upon knowledge, — the ratio of the uneducated absolutely increasing in various quarters. We have seen religious habits and institutions left far behind on the path of the bold pioneer. We have seen intemperance sweeping through the land in a fiery flood. We have seen a spirit of war and of territorial aggrandizement kindling half of the nation into a flame. And we have seen human servitude, which, in the instinctive consciousness of our nobler fathers, South as well as North, was regarded as an evil, as an anomaly that ought not to disfigure with its literal *name* the compact of the Constitution, — we have seen it boldly vindicated as a *good*, and as an *honorable* and *admirable* institution. Our readers will agree with us in regard to most of these specifications, if not all of them. They will agree with us, that these are fearful tendencies of the selfish principle. And suppose now that they had been suffered to go on unchecked. Suppose that the opposite principle, which some worldly-wise men may call Quixotic, had not aroused itself in this country. Suppose there had been none to rise up with remonstrance and resistance against those dangerous tendencies, — none to fling themselves into the path of the destroyer, — none to devote their time, talents, wealth, influence, to the cause of the public enlightenment and virtue. What then? We had been on the high road to ruin! We had been far gone on the way! *Private, voluntary, disinterested exertion has saved us.* That exertion must not be relaxed. It must be increased.

There is a noble band of men in this country, engaged in the promotion of knowledge, education, religion, peace, temperance, private virtue, and social justice. Some of them are connected with associations; others are fighting single-handed through the press. Some have forsaken the path of accumulation, and others that of professional or political distinction, to devote their lives to the sacred cause of the public welfare. It is the great *disinterested party* of the country. They ask no office, no fortune, no shout of praise; they ask only to make people better. They encounter reproach; they expect it.

There is no body of men in the country that we look to with such interest and hope as to this often reproached, antagonistic, reforming, corrective body. Disband it, and a voice of jubilee and triumph would go through all the ranks of the disorderly, the violent, the intemperate, the licentious, the corrupt, the corrupters of society and the oppressors of their kind. Destroy it, and a wail would go through the world over its extinction. Even by holding up its various standards against evil, it does much. But it does far more than this; and it has far more yet to do. Its numbers must be increased; and it must be reinforced with all the moral energies of the country.

There is another form in which we trust that social disinterestedness is yet more and more to appear among us, and that is in the quiet consecration of superior talent, wealth, and leisure to the general improvement of society. To illustrate what we mean, — there are among us not a few successful aspirants after fortune or easy competency, men of worth and ability, who in business or in a professional career are accumulating the means with which they intend to build up somewhere — probably in the country — a seat of ease and comfort for their declining days. Or else inherited property may enable persons of taste and intelligence to establish themselves for life upon such a plan. Now there are two views with which such a superior and independent position may be occupied. The old idea, the feudal idea, the selfish idea, was to use wealth for one's own pleasure or aggrandizement. The idea which many still have of retiring from business with a fortune is to retire into some guarded seat of luxury and splendor, from all contact with the mass of society. To be independent, to be alone, set aloft even from all neighborly relations with all but a few, — this is the ideal of what is called a *gentleman's* residence in the country. The other view is carried out by one who seats himself down in the country, in the bosom of all kindly and useful relations with those around him; who lives not an indolent nor a selfish life; who labors to improve the agriculture around him, to improve the schools, to improve society in every way. Without any formal proceeding in the matter, without ostentation, how many services may a kind and

wise man, with superior intelligence or means, render to those around him! For such persons, whether in town or country, there is a momentous mission among this people. Under feudal institutions, society might hold on to its miserable tenures and conditions, without any such larger and nobler view on the part of its leaders and lords. But a new era has come now, and a new thought must penetrate and mould it. The noblest opportunities, the largest means, the revenues of broad estates, must not be wasted upon the indolence, the luxuries and vices of their possessors. To make fair ladies and fine gentlemen, who are nothing more, — this was not the end of heaven-sent wealth. It must not be. The fountain-heads of society must not be poisonous or stagnant pools; if they are, the land will be stricken with barrenness and desolation. We would implore those whom God has blessed, whom society has helped, whom free institutions have fostered and built up, perhaps from lowly conditions, into wealth and honor, that they make some due return for all this into the bosom of society, into the family of God's creatures. We would implore them to fulfil this noble mission of beneficence, of kindness, of helpfulness to all around them. Amidst blessings, not envyings, let them live, and "sleep in blessings" when they die. Then, when the solemn bier shall bear them to the last home, the people shall not look askance from their labor-fields, and coldly or idly say, "Well, *he* is gone!" — but they shall follow him with benedictions, and bedew his grave with their tears, saying, "Our brother, our friend! God has taken him!"

Next to the disinterestedness of individuals, the *fraternization* of the whole body of society is the demand of free institutions. Barbarism, despotism, aristocratic claims, have divided men as if they were of different species. Christianity, culture, liberty, bring all men to feel that they are men, that they are brethren. How to make *all* happy, intelligent, comfortable, good, and noble, — that is the question *now*.

In order to this, it is not necessary to make the property, talent, or honor of all men equal. That is impossible. If there were an agrarian distribution of property to-day, the difference of men's faculties would make a distinction to-morrow. It is of no impossible, literal

equality, then, that we are thinking. But we would break down that vile *aristocracy of position*, which allows any man, because God has made him stronger, richer, loftier, to treat with slight or injustice his weaker or humbler brother. There is that in every honest man which is infinitely grander than any condition. We would see the poor man, the day-laborer, who felt *that*, and who, in that feeling, is manly, erect, gentle, and courteous; yes, the true *gentleman*, in comparison with some proud, discourteous, world-denominated superior; the true *gentleman*, we repeat, whose innate dignity and nobleness and kindliness should make all the assumptions of our immature civilization ridiculous. There was often a heroism in the old feudal time, in the manly protection and loving deference of different classes. There was something far more beautiful in it than that which is too often seen to-day, in the general scrub-race and selfish scramble for fortunes, honors, offices, distinctions of every sort. But is there not a heroism now called for, now rising in society, nobler than that of all feudal, of all heroic time, — the heroism of men who can forego all unjust claims, who can surrender all lordships, dignities, robes of old custom, to the rights of sound manhood, — who can stand together as brethren, as fellow-beings before God, in mutual respect and common humility?

So much for the *sentiment* of fraternity; the practical working out of the principle presents a far more difficult problem. The French people, in the late revolution, were at one moment much engaged in discussing what they called "the organization of labor." The journals informed us of a commission sitting in the Luxembourg, to investigate this subject. Poorly as it may have been managed, yet, as to the matter in hand, it was in our eyes the most momentous tribunal that can sit upon the earth in these days. What could it do? What could it do with a subject so vast, so complicated, so intermingled with all the relations of society, so vitally touching the rights and interests of men? We do not know. But this we know, — that *something* must be done. This we know, that if the rivalship of need, the competition for bread, goes on, and if the pressure of capital goes on, pushing wages lower and lower towards the very point of starvation; if thousands and

millions are to sink down under this ill-remunerated and crushing toil; if millions of our fellow-men and women and children — half-clad, half-starved, pale, trembling, almost denuded of their very humanity — are to be the operatives of the world, humanity will not bear it; and indeed it were better to go back from our perilous freedom to the feudal relations of baron and serf, — nay, better to fly from the curse of liberty to the curse of slavery itself. O brotherhood of men! what is it when men die for lack of food, — when women, in the garrets and cellars of all our cities, are pining and wasting to death over their unrequited toil, — and they weave their *shroud* in the gay garments which they fashion for the idle and opulent!

Yes, Brotherhood, Fraternity! well was that word uttered among the watchwords of the new republic of France. And France, Germany, America, the world, must learn what that word means. *Selfish individualism* is the curse of all men and communities, the root of all trouble and mischief, private and public. This is the poisonous element in all human conditions and relations. Extract that from the heart of society, and then wealth is good, and honor is good, and poverty is good, and toil is good, — every thing is good. Take that away, and any political relations can be made to work well for human happiness and improvement. But let that accursed principle loose, to have free and unrestricted course, and Plato's republic, Washington's, Lamartine's, any republic, any system of liberty that the wit of man can frame, will but nourish the freer growth of monstrous evils, that will overshadow it, and weigh it down, and scatter it in the dust.

Solemn in our thoughts, therefore, deep in our hearts, must sink the deepest principles of *religion*, if we would build on these shores a happy realm, — if we would find in this free heritage a happy life. Religion, we say, in fine, must consecrate the true citizenship. To reverence God, the God of nations; to feel the grandeur of his authority in our consciences; to bind our hearts in fealty to his will; to live as in the great Taskmaster's eye; to further his purposes of wisdom and goodness in the world, and to remember the solemn account, when the breath that wafts us on this tide of time shall have

died away for ever, — without this, this high and holy consecration of our being to the general weal, no freedom is good, no country is happy, no life is blessed.

We thank God that we do not hear now, from revolutionary France, the old cry of No religion! No Christianity! No Sabbath! No God, but reason! Evil and dark was the omen; and darkly was it fulfilled. The silent steps of retribution for ever proclaim the righteous authority that is over all. A miserable blasphemer* in the old revolution once stood up in the Assembly and said, — in language almost too awful to repeat, — thus he said: "God! if you exist, avenge your injured name; I bid you defiance! You launch not your thunder-bolts; who, after this, will believe in your existence?" No lightning-flash struck down the impious railer; no thunder-bolt gave answer to his blasphemous adjuration; but the unchained passions of a heaven-defying mob, the atrocities and woes beyond parallel of those awful days, gave answer; the guillotines, the butcheries, the suicidal stroke of the revolutionary axe, that cut off the heads of that hydra of impiety and rage, — the boiling up from the lowest hell of human depravity of all that can curse the earth, — all this gave answer. All this shows what a nation may be without religion, without God.† But it is not so now. Now no goddess of reason is installed and worshipped in the *Champ de Mars*. Now, when the image of Christ is brought forth from the sacked Tuilleries, the people pause; they say, "Reverence the Master"; and, with uncovered head and reverent homage, they bear the sacred form to the holy sanctuary.

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* Monert, a comedian. Alison, Vol. II. p. 47.

† Lamartine says, in his History of the Girondists, that "the spirit of the revolution was *religious*." Then we think we must have a new definition of religion. Chateaubriand, somewhere in his *Etudes Historiques*, replies to certain of his countrymen, — who have attempted to philosophize the horrors of the French Revolution into a heavenly order and method of social regeneration, — by pointing to its unspeakable atrocities, and among others to the *fusillades*, in which hundreds of children were gathered together and shot down in cold blood. Did we say, in cold blood? By bloodless fiends, rather. With Mr. Carlyle's remarkable writing on this subject we can go along, so far as to admit that the selfish and heartless inhumanity of the French nobles, for ages, provoked this horrible retribution, and deserved scarcely less. Still the fact stands, we think, incontestable, if we will take the pains to discriminate it, that the French Revolution was the most terrible boiling up of the deeps of human depravity, the most portentous ebullition of inhuman, of infernal passions, of mingled rage, cruelty, and blood, that ever was witnessed among civilized men.

This conduct of the French people, together with the wonderful order, self-restraint, respect for property, and even brotherly kindness, that appeared among them, — and with all this, similar indications all over Europe, — may well awaken in us a religious emotion. We may feel, without presumption, we hope, that the hand of God is among them; that the Father of mercies is shedding a portion of his own spirit upon them. We may hope in God that the days of violence and bloodshed are passing away. We may hope in God, that the great day of human fraternity is coming. Is it *too much* to hope — or must it for ever be a dream? — that men will yet learn to love one another, to help one another, to respect, befriend, strengthen one another, to give up pride and strife and sensual excess and base self-seeking and bad ambition, and to unite together for the common weal? We will not believe it is too much to hope. We see a new heaven and a new earth, yet to be. We see the earth cultivated by laborious hands, withdrawn from war and strife, — cultivated to a bountifulness and beauty never before known. We see the dwellings of men more thickly planted on the now waste and barren deserts, but more richly replenished; the vile hovels, unfit for the residence of beasts, have disappeared; the pest-houses of filth and drunkenness and debauchery are gone. We see governments more just and benign, and the people more content and happy, and the nations dwelling together in amity. We see a race that can *believe* in law and love, in righteousness and peace.

But alas! we do not believe in them yet. We believe in wealth and pleasure, in force and will, in armies and battlements. But faith in higher things, in truth and right and moral power, in the only and everlasting resources of humanity, has not yet come. And *yet*, therefore, must we implore all the solemnity and safeguard of religion to come down and dwell among us.

And never, we think, — never so much as now. Never, we believe, since the world began, was there such a crisis in the world's affairs as now. Never was there occasion for so deep a thoughtfulness and solicitude and prayer for the world's welfare as now. Among all nations, in all dwellings, in all solemn temples, should it be deeply meditated upon. For now, the PEOPLE'S REIGN

has commenced! Whether in the form of a republic or not, is immaterial; all power has visibly gone, or is fast going, into their hands. Now the PEOPLE'S REIGN has commenced! And now, therefore, the hope of the world lies in true citizenship, — in true, disinterested, fraternal, religious citizenship. O. D.

ART. IV. — SCEPTICISM IN SCIENCE.*

NOTHING is so well established in religion or morals, in history or science, as not to be doubted or denied by some one. The more presumptuous this doubt or denial, the more is it likely to excite attention, and obtain a momentary, if not a permanent influence. All human knowledge, even the most positive, is tainted by scepticism. Even the physical sciences, which deal directly with present and sensible facts, are not clear from this stain. Geometry, in its first elementary steps, no less than in its highest walks where it seems scarcely to touch the earth, does not tread so firmly and see so clearly as

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* 1. *Outlines of a System of Mechanical Philosophy, being a Research into the Laws of Force.* By SAMUEL ELLIOTT COUES. Boston: Charles C. Little and James Brown. 1851. 12mo. pp. 330.

2. *Unity of Purpose, or Rational Analysis, being a Treatise designed to disclose Physical Truths, and to detect and expose Popular Errors.* By AUGUSTUS YOUNG. Boston: Printed by S. N. Dickinson & Co. 1846.

3. *On the Motions of the Earth and Heavenly Bodies, as explainable by Electro-magnetic Attraction and Repulsion, and on the Conception, Growth, and Decay of Man, and Cause and Treatment of his Diseases, as referrible to Galvanic Action.* By P. CUNNINGHAM, Surgeon, R. N. London: Cochrane & McCrane. 1834.

4. *Essay on the Theory of Attraction.* By JOHN KINNERSLEY SMYTHIES. London: Richard & John Edward Taylor. 1850.

5. *A Million of Facts, or Correct Data and Elementary Constants, in the entire Circle of the Sciences and in all Subjects of Speculation and Practice.* By SIR RICHARD PHILLIPS. London: Darton & Co. 1848.

6. *The Anomalies of the Present Theory of the Tides, elucidated by Additional Facts and Arguments. Together with Remarks on the newly discovered Planet, its Negative Disturbing Power, etc., etc.* By THOMAS KERIGAN, R. N., F. R. S. London: Simpkin, Marshall, & Co. 1847.

7. *Notes on the Kinematic Effects of Revolution and Rotation with Reference to the Motions of the Moon, and of the Earth, which are assumed in the present System of Astronomy. With experimental Illustrations.* By HENRY PERIGAL, Esq., F. R. A. S., etc. Second Edition. London. 1846–50.

8. *An Examination of the Astronomical Doctrine of the Moon's Rota-*

to command universal assent to all its demonstrations. The anathemas of the French Academy of Sciences, which banished particular subjects, such as a "perpetual motion," the "quadrature of the circle," and the dispute concerning the "*vis viva*" and the "*vis mortua*," from its deliberations, have not been sufficient to convince or silence the disputatious.

The Newtonian law of gravitation, if it now stands on a firm foundation, does not owe its stability to the forbearance and gentleness of those who have ventured from time to time to assail it. John Hutchinson exalted the *Principia* of Moses above Newton's *Principia*. He declaimed against all human learning, and looked to the Scriptures for a complete system of natural philosophy. As the law of gravitation is not mentioned in the sacred physics, the law of gravitation was rejected as not true. But to assail the law on theological or metaphysical grounds is less marvellous than to declare that it is irreconcilable with facts. Le Seur and Jacquier, who published the second volume of their commentary on Newton's *Principia* in 1742, made this degrading declaration: —

"Newton, in his third book, adopts the hypothesis of the mo-

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tion. "*Strike me, but hear.*" By J. L. Edinburgh: Adam and Charles Black. 1847.

9. *Treatise on the Nature and Effects of Heat, Light, Electricity, and Magnetism, as being only different Developments of One Element.* Cambridge. 1827, by Marshall Tufts. 8vo.

10. *Principles of Natural and Metaphysical Philosophy, intended as a new Account, concise and popular, plain and more consistent also with later Improvements than the Cartesian or Newtonian.* Cambridge: Hilliard & Brown. 1829.

11. *The Universe as it is: wherein the Hypothesis of the Earth's Motion is refuted, and the true Basis of Astronomy laid down.* By WILLIAM WOODLEY. London. 1829. 8vo.

12. *A New Theory of the Tides.* By CAPTAIN FORMAN. London. 1822. 8vo.

13. *On the Proximate Causes of Material Phenomena and the Two Principles of Universal Causation.* By SIR R. PHILLIPS. London. 1821. 8vo.

14. *Protest against the prevailing Principles of Natural Philosophy with the Developments of a Common-sense System.* By SIR R. PHILLIPS. London. 8vo.

15. *New Elements of Geometry.* By SEBA SMITH. New York: G. P. Putnam. London: Richard Bentley. 1850.

16. *On the Correlation of the Physical Forces: being the Substance of a Course of Lectures delivered in the Royal Institution, in the Year* 1843. By W. R. GROVE, Esq., M. A., F. R. S., Barrister at Law. London: Samuel Higley. 1846.

tion of the earth: we could not explain his propositions without making the same hypothesis. Hence we are compelled to take a character different from our own, for we profess obedience to the decrees promulgated by the popes against the motion of the earth."

The Newtonian theory was, however, taught in Catholic universities under the name of *hypothesis*, until in 1818 Pius the Seventh repealed the edicts against the Copernican system.

Captain Smyth, the President of the Astronomical Society of Great Britain, describes the symptoms of the anti-Newtonian disease as follows: "A feverish anxiety to square the circle, trisect an angle, duplicate the cube, and detect perpetual motion." To these we may add, a dread of the higher law of the calculus, and a facility at constructing a theory which gives an incomparable explanation of the whole of physics and chemistry. Moreover, these scientific knight-errants, after dethroning Newton, throw up their caps for Kepler, whom they imitate in his prurient imagination, if not in the admired harmonious movement with which his fingers played upon the shape, velocity, and distances of planets.

Few persons, perhaps, are aware how abundant the English scientific literature is in works which illustrate and defend the anti-Newtonian heresy. The long file of titles with which we have introduced our article will satisfy the reader that scepticism on matters of science is not likely to die out at present for want of material. We propose to furnish an account, more or less in detail, of some of these extraordinary productions.

After skimming from these writers all their superficial peculiarities, there remains behind a large residuum of family resemblance which is quite remarkable. They all repeat the same story about ancient dogmas, popular errors, the too easy faith of the world in its scientific guides, and the tyranny of great names. They do not hesitate to criticize with flippant arrogance the matchless works of Newton and Laplace, which they are incapable of reading, and of which all they know has been learned at third or fourth hand. They all appeal, as with one voice, from the doom which has been pronounced on their own heads by men of science, — the doom of not being read at all, or, if read, soon forgotten, — to the

judgment of an incompetent mass-meeting; and as they are always sure to gather around them a knot of admiring and credulous disciples, they mistake the applause of the dissatisfied few for the voice of the world, and the verdict of the world for that of truth and nature.

"And should the fact be disclosed," says Mr. Young, "that many matters which are now almost universally esteemed sublime scientific truths are but dark and occult errors, the inquiry will naturally suggest itself, whether it may not have been found necessary to clothe them in a mathematical dress so wholly incomprehensible to the mass of mankind, as to make it a hopeless task, from want of leisure and other facilities, to investigate the truth or falsehood promulgated by the learned through the medium of what is so triumphantly termed the higher branches of mathematics; and hence, whether mankind, in general, have not been compelled to remain ignorant of those supposed physical truths, except by a confidential faith in those who profess to teach these things."

Scientific reformers do not excel reformers in general in modesty, charity, courtesy, or good temper; and they cannot plead, in extenuation of their fault, their moral indignation at a great wrong or iniquity which they are attempting to dislodge from society. These men, with all their noise and fluency, do not derange for an instant the slow but triumphal march of science, and what they write is read with much more interest for the lessons it teaches in psychology, than for its scientific value. Many persons, who do not profess to be judges of the matter in dispute, will make up their minds how much confidence is to be placed in these *parvenues* in science when they see the free and dashing style in which they dispose of Newton and others of like intellectual magnitude. Mr. Young pronounces Kepler the father of physical astronomy, and declares that no discovery has been made in it since his time, which deserves the name. "I will here declare that I have yet to learn of a single beneficial discovery or principle, originally promulgated by Sir Isaac Newton, in any wise beneficial to physical astronomy." Mr. Coues takes the same position, in reality, if not in so many words.

Arago, in the fourth edition of his *Leçons d'Astronomie*, published in 1845, says of the present explanation of the tides, "Cette théorie est aujourd'hui audessus

toute contestation." He ought to have made an exception in favor of the writers under consideration. In this spot, particularly, does the law of gravitation chafe their sensitive minds. Mr. Young declares the Newtonian theory of the tides to be a "tissue of absurdities and dilemmas": an inflated superstructure, built upon the sand, with "the calculus for stones, and fluxions for mortar." Lieutenant Kerigan stigmatizes it as a "gross fallacy, a palpable deceit or absurdity, and an insult to the law of gravitation on which it is founded." And all this, because, in circumnavigating the globe, he did not find the waters rise, to an inch and a minute, at every part exactly as the theory requires. No allowance is made for the embarrassments the moon's attraction encounters from the irregularities of straits and the interposition of continents and islands. The tides are expected to follow an air line over the whole earth. Other lieutenants, and even captains, have caught this ship fever. We need mention only the names of Lieutenant Brothers and Captains Woodley and Forman, the latter of whom remarks that Newton is "continually committing the grossest blunders, in consequence of neglecting the rules of geometry," for which he "richly deserves to be decorated with the cap and bells." The distinguished astronomer, Captain Smyth, justly observes: —

"It is surprising that a navigator, of all others, should not have satisfied himself that the tides follow periodically the course of the sun and moon, especially as old pilots, albeit unacquainted with theories, predict the times of high water, with considerable truth, by the mere compass-bearing of our satellite. The Newtonian theory of tides was put to practical test in the late war, which ought to have worked conviction in the minds of naval officers. The blockade of the Texel was successfully managed on a system at once economical in anxiety and labor. The ports of Holland admit of the ingress and egress of large ships only during spring-tides, two days before which our squadron regularly took its station off the Texel, and remained there only as many days after the full and change of the moon, so that the Dutch lost all the advantages of high tides, and their heavy ships were effectually detained within their harbors. This amusingly countenanced the well-known assertion of M. Le Prieur, that tides were attached to the ocean to facilitate the entry of ships into their respective ports, a conclusion which Voltaire held to be equivalent to contending that legs were made to wear boots."

Few passages in the history of science are read with greater interest, and even admiration, than those which relate the anxiety and caution with which Newton contrived to elicit his law of gravitation from the motions of the moon. But, according to Sir R. Phillips, this law is nothing better than an "execrable superstition" of Newton, and the history of its discovery is called by Mr. Young "a moon story." "How juggling," cries Sir Richard, "to compare a paper fall at the moon with a real fall at the earth." Why, says he, the moon falls one hundred and thirty thousand feet in a second, and not sixteen feet, as Newton supposes! Mr. Coues and Lieutenant Kerigan have a more respectful vocabulary; but they seem to agree with Mr. Young in his disgust for the commonplace expression, "Sir Isaac Newton found"; and to be of his opinion also, that every thing which Sir Isaac found, the world has been loath to lose again. Some of these writers stand aghast at one difficulty, some at another. Lieutenant Kerigan is staggered at the thought that the sun attracts the moon two and one fifth times as much as the earth does; hence, at her very first conjunction with the sun, this "pride and ornament of the earth" would forsake her for ever. The comprehensive fault with these scientific sceptics, which comprises all their individual peculiarities, is, that they confound relative and absolute forces, and also relative and absolute motions. Captain Smyth relates that Sir Richard Phillips called upon him, in a cavalier style, and invited him to a scientific tournament by discussing these errors of Newton, which he "almost blushed to name," and which were magnified in the *Principia*, "to puzzle the vulgar." He declaimed against the creed of science, which he described as the "trinity of gravitating force, projectile force, and void space." "But," he says in one of his books, "the wonder after all is far less that a system-maker should be seduced to make the assertion, than that mathematicians and men of moral worth should, from 1687 to 1831, have been mistaken enough to believe and teach such nonsense with solemn emphasis."

The sceptics in science are nearly unanimous in their suspicion of the centrifugal force; but they do not all reject the law of gravitation. Mr. Young thinks there may be an attraction by the sun inversely as the dis-

tance; that it arises from a magnetic induction exerted by the sun. He refers the tides to magnetic attractions, and the greater tides of the lunar action to the invariable position of the moon's magnetic poles. Mr. Coues will sympathize most cordially with him in his desire to reform the planetary densities, and bring them all up to a single mark. The habit of mind in which these writers have indulged, of considering the motion which they see in nature a single motion and the product of a single force, and of rejecting all elementary conceptions and all analysis, prepares them to receive with a poor grace the well-known theory of planetary perturbations. "This is the theory," says one of them, "which has converted the whole universe into a system of disturbing forces, and the whole corps of astronomers into an exploring party, whose business it is to search out and regulate disturbances." Lieutenant Kerigan complains against these astronomical policemen, because they are unable, even with their perfect organization and their activity and their deep interest in the law of gravitation, to keep order among the planets. He asserts that the law of gravitation, if admitted, cannot explain the disturbances, and he brings out his scanty supply of arithmetic, geometry, and trigonometry to rebut Lagrange and Laplace. He supposes that Neptune cannot disturb Uranus, because Saturn disturbs the planet more; that the earth cannot attract Venus, because the attraction would be forty-three times greater at inferior conjunction, when the planet moves the slowest, than at superior conjunction, when she moves the fastest. The shallowness of these objections to the old theory is surpassed by the freedom with which the same writer carries on his own speculations. He enlightens us with the remark that the satellites attached to a planet increase in number with the distance of the planet from the sun. This law gives ten or twelve to Uranus, *though but six are visible to the best telescopes, on account of the distance.*

About the middle of the last century, a discussion arose between Mr. James Ferguson and an anonymous writer, whether the moon turned on her axis, and in the same time in which she performed a revolution in her orbit. Within two or three years, the discussion has been revived by Mr. Perigal, a Fellow of the Royal

Astronomical Society of Great Britain, and another writer, whose book we have already mentioned by title, both of whom take the ground that the present analysis of motion is incorrect. The question is interesting, not merely as it concerns the true principles of studying motions of rotation and revolution, but also as, if settled against the practice of mathematicians, it will modify the common explanation of our seasons, of the sidereal day, of the moon's librations, and of the motions of the satellites in general. The whole difficulty with these mechanical sceptics seems to arise from their assuming too complete an analogy between the free motions of planets connected by gravitation, and the revolution of a body about a centre with which it is united, not by attraction, but by some material link. Such men will not, however, be persuaded; nor do we write with any such intent. "Those who reason upon subjects which they do not understand must advance arguments not worth refuting in form; but their reckless assurance may be noticed." This assurance is betrayed in the following extract from J. L.:—

"The rotation which astronomers ascribe to the moon is just as purely hypothetical and groundless as any Ptolemaic epicycle; yet has this doctrine been allowed to remain a foul blot in the temple they have reared to the glory of physical science."

Mr. Perigal joins in this sentiment, for he says,—

"It is, therefore, highly expedient that astronomy should be elevated from an hypothetical to an experimental science: its theoretical doctrines based only on ascertained facts, exclusive of postulates and independent of artifices for compensating doctrinal errors."

These scientific iconoclasts have attacked with sacrilegious hands even the foundations of pure geometry. The "New Elements of Geometry, by Seba Smith," furnishes a fresh illustration of this statement. The author informs us that he was incited to his task by reading a work of John A. Parker on the *Quadrature of the Circle*. Of this work, which will not, we are assured, be long withheld from the public curiosity, Mr. Smith makes the following remark: "I was at once much impressed with the boldness, strength, and originality of his reasoning, and finally convinced of the truth of his solu-

tion of that remarkable problem, which had long since been pronounced by mathematicians and learned societies as an impossibility." Mr. Smith was in exactly the proper state of mental preparation for forming such an opinion. He had, as he tells the reader himself, studied three or four books of Euclid's Elements at college, thirty years before; but the little which he once knew superficially had entirely faded from his memory. Starting as he did without any prejudice in favor of the ancient geometry, it is not surprising that, after two or three years of study, he concluded that Mr. Parker was correct, and all the geometricians in the wrong; and that, having made the discovery, he was anxious to give the world the benefit of it. "Should I be met," says Mr. Smith, "at the threshold by the incredulous world, and reproachfully or satirically asked, in the words of Paul, 'Who is sufficient for these things?' I shall reply in the humble spirit of the same Apostle, when he declared that God had chosen the foolish things of the world to confound the wise, and God hath chosen the weak things of the world to confound the things which are mighty." Euclid, and all other geometers who have succeeded him, define a line to be length without breadth, and a surface length and breadth without thickness. Mr. Smith says: "I meet these definitions at once, and declare that every mathematical line has a *breadth*, as definite, as measurable, and as clearly demonstrable, as its length; and that every mathematical surface has a *thickness* as definite, as measurable, and as clearly demonstrable, as its length or breadth." As surfaces are bounded by lines of definite breadth, and as the area of these lines is subtracted from the whole area of the surface, the author finds it easy to prove that, in some cases, the area of the surface is less than the circumference.

"It is not strange, therefore, that, while a fundamental principle in mathematics remained shrouded in darkness, the professors of that science should have been led into a thousand laborious and useless speculations, upon questions in which that unknown principle was necessarily involved. Indeed, from these causes, the mathematical sciences, like a very luxuriant vine left without pruning, have run out into immense quantities of foliage, bearing comparatively but little fruit. This state of things has become a reproach to mathematics."

We now proceed to consider, in some detail, the *Outlines of a System of Mechanical Philosophy*, by S. E. Coues. Those readers not familiar with the crude literature on scepticism in matters of science may wonder at the boldness and originality of this author. He makes an indiscriminate attack on the theories universally accepted by the best judges of science for explaining the physical phenomena of the universe; and aims to render the blow fatal by denying the truth of those mechanical principles and the accuracy of those methods of mathematical demonstration which have guided scientific research to its present conclusions. He has found it more agreeable to doubt and deny, than to study and understand. He has found it easier, and any one who repeats the experiment will find it easier, infinitely easier, to publish a loose and rambling sketch of a new system of mechanical philosophy, which he has not paused to verify, and which is incapable from its vagueness and generality of being verified in its details, than to follow the slow and beaten way, which the cultivators of a sober and stable science have trodden with labor, but not without hope.

In the department of natural history, and we include in this general designation the natural history of the heavens, modern science excels the ancient achievements, principally by the use of those potent implements of observation which have given an almost miraculous increase of sharpness to the best natural senses. Aristotle was a good observer. Few in modern times see so clearly with the telescope and the microscope as he did without either. But in mechanical philosophy, in the development of the doctrine of force, modern science asserts its strength and its superiority. The genius of Rome, Greece, and the other and older nations which partook of that ancient civilization, with all its art and philosophy, with all its learning and accomplishment, makes no pretension to rivalry on this subject. Few things in the history of modern science are more interesting, than to watch the labor and pain with which the laws of equilibrium and motion, and the conception of a material force, which are now the common heritage of science, struggled into existence. If the birth was slow and anxious, the growth has been rapid and vigorous. Sun, planets, and stars are claimed as subservient to sci-

entific scrutiny; and the foundation of the celestial mechanics were laid by Newton soon after Galileo discovered the laws of falling bodies, and traced the course of a projectile through the air. The laws of motion, shining down from the sky as well as calling up from the earth, might not have been discovered by man so soon, had not his eyes been open to the illumination above while his ears were listening to the instructions of the earth. He needed to experiment on motion, on a small scale, upon the earth, and at the same time to behold it on a magnificent scale, in its free and prolonged play in the heavens, before he could eliminate the accidental, the fluctuating, the evanescent, and apprehend the true meaning of nature's modest teachings. The history and the progress of physical and mechanical science since that time, its industry and its success, are too well known to require any rehearsal. It is the common opinion of men, that some truth has been discovered; that a positive science of the physical universe has been constructed; that some insight has been obtained into the philosophy of the things of sense. Occasionally, the laws of motion, the doctrine of inertia and of the centrifugal force, have been challenged and reëxamined. But every new application to any point in the widening circle of the sciences has added strength to conclusions which were already sufficiently strong. Some have looked upon this great and successful devotion to physical science with suspicion and alarm; but few have questioned its reality.

Mr. Coues makes his heaviest charge upon the law of gravitation, being assured, if that is shaken, that the most considerable portion of the structure of modern physical science will fall with it. He tells us that this law of gravitation is inadequate as a cause, inasmuch as the only thing which it investigates and determines in relation to a body is its position at a given instant. The world has ascribed to it too a high rank among causes, and allowed it too wide a range in the production of phenomena.

"The belief in the attractive force of matter is not only the foundation of the structure of our present philosophy, but it places every stone of the edifice, and superintends even its finish and its ornament. The mind has no occasion to exert itself further. By gravitation is explained the act of drawing the first

nourishment, and the last expiring breath; the child totters under it in its first attempts to walk, and old age resists it with its staff. We see only this force of senseless matter when the pendulum swings, when the stone falls, when the vessel floats, when the vapor rises, when the clouds hang heavy over our heads. We trace its effect in the descending rain, in the rushing of the mountain brook, in the flow of rivers, in the swell of the tides, in the outline of continents, in the shape of the earth, in the form of her orbit, in the rush of the solar system through space. We imagine even that by the whirling of 'star-dust' new worlds are gradually added to the realm under the sway of the attractive power of inert matter!" — p. 223.

The principle of gravitation is objectionable in philosophy, because it places the motion of a body under the control of every other body but itself. It is objectionable in fact, because it cannot be applied to the minute.

Finally, the law of gravitation has held up its head so long and so proudly only from the support of a peculiar kind of mathematics, which must stand or fall with it; and, with this unnatural aid, it is wholly incompetent to explain the principal classes of phenomena to which it is applied, and is felt and confessed to be so by competent judges. Gravitation is not sufficient to account for the free fall of bodies, for their motion down an inclined plane, for the vibration of the pendulum, for the buoyancy of bodies, or for the tides. The elevation of mercury in the tube of a barometer, the boiling of water at various temperatures according to the atmospheric pressure, the working of the pump, the playing of the siphon, which are ordinarily referred to the influence of gravitation, cannot be explained, even if we adopt the supposition, so improbable in itself, that gravity exists and that the atmosphere has weight. But it is in astronomy, the pride of science, where she imagines herself to have achieved her most brilliant triumphs, that the law of gravitation fails most signally.

Such are the length and breadth, the height and depth, of the failures and deficiencies of that principle of gravitation which gave immortal renown to Newton, its first clear expounder, and which has been the guiding star of science since his time. Are we to believe, then, that modern science has not been guided faithfully and straight forward by a true light of heaven, but distracted,

perplexed, and bewildered by the dim phosphorescence of the innumerable atoms which it studies?

We will not stop at present to discuss the general and philosophical objections to the Newtonian law, but proceed at once to consider the alleged cases of failure. It will be in season to examine the general character of this scientific dogma, when it shall appear that, if adopted, it can explain satisfactorily the phenomena. We begin with the assertion, that not one of the pretended cases of failure which the writer has adduced will stand the breath of a single critical question. Some acquire a plausibility only when we have overthrown the law of inertia, and other well-established principles of mechanical philosophy. The statement of others is their best refutation to the mind of the intelligent reader. Many of these cases are superficial in the extreme; they are simply puerile and ridiculous; and all betray a want of patient preparation for the task in which the author has so blindly and so precipitately engaged. So far is the law of gravitation from being the lame and impotent invention which he represents, that it is, to a degree far beyond all other scientific devices, marvellously, prophetically, we had almost said miraculously, suited to reconcile the facts known to its discoverer with others not ascertained for nearly two centuries afterwards.

We turn first to the eighty-eighth page of the Outlines, where the author asks, —

> "In a scale-beam balanced by two equal weights, how could oscillation take place under the law of gravitation? Yet if you give one of these weights an impulse, they will oscillate, — oscillate for ever in a vacuum without friction. Gravitation has no power to give alternate motion, — attracting both weights with equal force, it cannot first make one heavier and then the other. If both were held with equal strength, it would be absolutely impossible for this vibration to take place; there is an absence of all cause, or tendency, or capacity for oscillation." — pp. 88, 89.

The writer has neglected to take account of the weight of the scale-beam; which, as it is supported, not through the centre of gravity, but through a point situated above that centre, will weigh more, when disturbed, on the elevated than on the depressed side. Thus the scale-beam oscillates, carrying the weights with it, on the same principle which regulates the vibrations of a common pendu-

lum. But we must go a step farther. For the vibration of the pendulum is another stumbling-block to our author. He asks:—

"How can this equal rise and fall of the pendulum be explained on the theory of gravitation? Where is the reference to the centre of attraction,— where the *gravitating* power? How is it that the power drawing to the earth draws and repels equally? The rise is unquestionably a continuation of the same motion as the fall, proving that the force has no more reference to a downward than to an upward attraction."—pp. 86, 87.

The pendulum falls from gravity, and ascends again from the momentum acquired in falling. We have a similar case in the balance-wheel of the watch, which swings to the place of equilibrium from the force of the hair-spring, and then beyond it from the momentum of rotation. This explanation involves the idea of inertia, about which the mind of the writer does not appear to be clear. We therefore ask him, If the attraction of the earth cannot explain the motion of the pendulum, how is it that a compass-needle, which points to a sphere of iron, will, when disturbed from this steadfast position, oscillate backward and forward in a horizontal plane, and thus come tremblingly into its true place again?

We will next follow our author into the domain of hydrostatics, where he finds it very difficult to keep his head above the water. He is at a loss to explain the buoyancy of bodies by the action of gravitation. How can the rise of a balloon in air, or of a cork in water, be caused by a force which urges matter downward, and never upward? It is to be observed, in the first place, that, although the lighter body, as the balloon or the cork, ascends, the heavier body, such as the air or the water, is sinking. It is as exact to say that the heavier body is falling around the lighter, as that the lighter body is rising in the heavier medium. And, in fact, the lighter body is pressed up by the descent of the heavier. It does not rise from its own gravitation, but it is displaced by the surpassing specific gravity of the medium in which it is situated. Our author continues thus: If fluids press equally in all directions, they will not move a body immersed therein up or down, to the right or to the left. It ought to remain stationary, as if it were held between

springs of equal pressure. Here he overlooks the critical circumstance. The pressure of fluids is the same in all directions, under similar conditions. But the pressure in any direction is proportional to the depth of the surface exposed to it below the level of the liquid. This depth is greater for the under surface of a body which is pressed upward, than for the upper surface which is pressed downward. This excess of upward pressure gives the buoyancy. The two cardinal doctrines of fluid pressure, — viz. that fluids press equally in all directions, and that the pressure is proportional to the height of the pressing column, — each of which can be established by simple experiment, furnish ample resources for explaining all hydrostatic phenomena. If our author cannot get along with one exclusively, it is his own fault that he has neglected the other. Let him not make the law of Newton responsible for his own carelessness. Those who cherish the law of gravitation never asserted or imagined that fluids press equally in all directions at different depths; they say, and they can prove, that fluids exert a pressure in all directions proportional to the depth. Hence, they do not have our author's difficulty in understanding why the water of a dam curves more quickly at the surface than below, or why a jet spouts with more force from a low aperture than from a high one.

This anti-Newtonian theorist selects a case in which the quantity of water above a body immersed in it is greater than the quantity of the same fluid below the body; and also another case in which the water which is supposed to sustain a body weighs less than the body itself which is sustained; and he asks, with a sort of triumph, How can the law of gravitation allow such violations of its simplest precepts? This objection sounds plausible, and, if it related to solids exclusively, it would be unanswerable. But these cases never occur with solid bodies. The critic forgets that water is a fluid; that the pressure of fluids, even when caused by gravitation and exerted in a downward direction, is independent of the weight of the fluid; that it depends on the height of the liquid column and the area of the surface to which the pressure is communicated, and that, if these elements remain constant, the pressure is the same, whether the column be as fine as a pipe-stem or as broad as the Pacific Ocean.

These laws control the action of gases, vapors, and liquids. They originate in the peculiar constitution of fluids, which modify and multiply any force which is applied to them, as solid bodies will do when arranged after the model of one of the mechanical powers. They are confirmed by experiments in which gravitation takes no part, where muscular or some other power is used, and where all the motions are performed in a horizontal plane, so that our author's theory of the spare force of descent, if it were ever any thing but a chimera, would be wholly inapplicable here. But he has appealed to experiment, and unto experiment let him go. He says: —

"It has also been deduced from this idea, that, if any fluid in a cylinder be pressed by a piston, the force which moves the piston bears with the same power on every part of the surface of the cylinder. For instance, if the area of the piston is one foot, and it is acted upon with a force of one hundred pounds, and the cylinder has an area of eight feet, the one hundred pounds of pressure would be multiplied into eight hundred pounds, to give the one hundred pounds pressure to each foot of the cylinder. But it is not so. The one hundred pounds force is not in the least increased by the size of the cylinder, and is equally distributed over the whole surface. The mistake has arisen from the fact, that, if the cylinder is opened at any part, there will the whole force concentrate itself; and because it can always be brought to any one point, it has been supposed that it acts with its whole force at every point at once. The molecular force is converted into progressive motion only where it acts against that which is movable; it exerts itself where there is room for motion. When confined, the force is equally distributed throughout the containing vessel; when suffered to escape, its whole strength is transferred to the place where there is room for motion. Tap the cylinder at any part of its surface, and thence the fluid issues with the force which theory assigns. Let the boiler of a steam-engine burst, and at the rent will issue the force which theory has made present at every part." — pp. 160, 161.

Suppose that we make a number of apertures in the cylinder, and keep them all open at the same time. We find as much force displayed at each, now, as when all the rest were shut. Can our objector tell us how the whole force is able to concentrate in so many different places at the same instant, or why, when the aperture at a single spot is larger than the area of the piston, the force which rallies there is greater than the whole force?

Thus we have been gradually prepared for the monstrous statement, that fluids at rest exert no pressure whatever. "A ship has no weight on the water; she does not bear upon it; the hand placed between her and the water would not be in the least compressed. She is not attracted downward by gravitation, nor is the water attracted upward against her." And again we read: —

"We will bring the pressure of water to an infallible test, that of our sense of touch, — our honest perceptions, which favor no theory whatever. Immerse the hand in water; in the act of immersion pressure is felt, for the water is moved by the introduction of the hand, but when it is at rest in the water not the least pressure is experienced. Place the hand near a small orifice from which water is issuing, and pressure will be felt because there is a motion of the water. Stop the orifice with the palm of the hand, and there is no pressure; for the water has ceased to flow." — p. 156.

The force of pressure is one thing, and the force of percussion is a very different thing. It does not require the same strength to hold a cannon-ball that would be wanted to stop it. But these pretended facts are not facts; nature abhors them. Our author imagines his results, for he could never have arrived at them after a delicate trial. We do not dispute the competency of the senses to decide in such matters; but we should like to take our choice among the different senses. We have never heard that the sense of touch had claims to infallibility higher than those possessed by that masterpiece of divine skill, the human eye. We know there was a time when the king's foot was considered an accurate national standard of weight. But science has grown more scrupulous and circumspect. Science will not admit that fluids at rest exert no pressure until the experiment is repeated once more, and all the senses are invited to be present and to judge, instead of leaving the decision in the hands of the coarsest of all the senses, that of touch. If fluids at rest exert no pressure, why will not an empty balloon remain distended, and why are hollow metallic vessels, of several inches in thickness, crushed by the pressure of the ocean when they are sunk in deep soundings?

Let us next review the statements of this author in regard to the mechanical arrangements of the atmosphere.

He says there is no proof that the density of the air increases with the elevation, and if it does, the fact is inexplicable by gravitation and the received laws of fluid pressure. If a cubic foot of air presses equally in all directions, up as well as down, the density of all the atmospheric strata must be the same. If from any cause the lower strata were denser than the upper, there would be a vertical trade-wind blowing perpetually upward. If the coldest strata are the densest, then the upper strata must be denser than the lower. With all the confusion of thought in applying principles and all the ignorance of facts which these remarks betray, the writer shows that the dogmatism of scepticism outruns the dogmatism of science, against which he protests so loudly. He says with emphasis: —

"We wish to express this idea distinctly. If the air be more dense at the surface of the earth than a mile above it, the increase of density does not arise from gravitation; and, if there is a difference of density at different levels, the barometer cannot indicate it." — p. 120.

The distance of the upper layers of the atmosphere from the earth's centre of gravity surpasses the distance of the lower layers by too insignificant a fraction to make any difference in our planet's attraction upon them, according to Newton's laws of attraction. We agree entirely to this. But our author reasons upon the subject as if the air were solid, and not a fluid. The density of a stratum of air is measured by the pressure to which it is subjected; and the pressure is occasioned, not by its own gravitating tendency, but by the combined gravitations of all the superincumbent strata. Unless it can be proved that the upper portions of the atmosphere have as much air above them as the lower, it must be admitted that the attraction of the earth, if exerted upon a compressible atmosphere, will make the lower parts more compact than the upper parts.

If we introduce the testimony of the barometer to prove both the gravitation and the stratification of the atmosphere, we are told that this witness knows nothing about the question. The mercurial column is not sustained by the pressure of the air. That is a vulgar prejudice, which men of science do not disturb, though they must know better. It is true, Pascal believed in it, but

Pascal lived some hundred years ago. The world has adopted his opinion, but the world always runs after great men. If, says our author, the barometer *measures* any thing, it must be the weight of the air over the whole cistern. Why should it select a column of atmosphere no larger than the opening of the tube, and attend to that exclusively? We answer, because the air is a fluid. If the force of the hand were applied to the surface of the mercury in the cistern, it would be treated in the same style. Again, it is asked why, if a pound of mercury is added to the cistern, an additional pound of mercury does not rise up into the tube; and again we answer, because mercury is a fluid. Why, we are asked once more, does it take as much strength to lift a filled barometrical tube as to lift the tube and mercury in any other shape? If the atmosphere holds up the mercury, why is it not sufficient if we hold up the glass simply? We answer, that there is the same vacuum under the top of the glass tube as over the mercury; that the tube has lost the upward atmospheric pressure which the mercury has gained; and the whole pressure upward upon both together is the same in the barometrical arrangement as in any other. The writer has not picked the slightest flaw in the theory of the atmosphere and of the mercurial barometer. The aneroid barometer confirms the testimony of the common barometer. The air may be examined at different elevations, and its variable density proved by weighing equal volumes in a delicate balance. The barometer, pump, and siphon all operate in consequence of atmospheric pressure, and cease to operate when the experiment is made inside of an exhausted receiver. In the case of the pump we are asked, How can it be said that the pressure of the air is the elevating agent, when, for every pound of water raised, the force necessary to raise a pound is required? The pressure of the air is the immediate cause of the rise of the water. But before it is effectual, the air must be removed from the top of the pipe, and sustained by the power applied to the pump-handle. It requires the same force to lift the piston with a vacuum underneath, as presses against the water in the well to fill the vacuum again. No one ever pretended that power was gained by the pump any more than by the simple pulley. We prize it, like other machines, for its convenience.

Let us cross-examine a few more of the witnesses which have been summoned to prove that the atmosphere has no gravity. The writer says, if you raise a piston which fits air-tight into a cylinder, it is said to be pressed back again by the atmosphere. But it cannot be so. The pressure is not constant; its amount varies with the length of the stroke. If the atmosphere presses, it must have greater stability of pressure than this experiment indicates. How many of the readers of this Examiner need be told, that the rarefaction of the air in the cylinder increases with the length of the stroke, and that the atmospheric pressure is occasioned by the difference of density between the air on the inside and the outside atmosphere? On page 180, the writer refers to the familiar experiment with the inverted wine-glass. He finds that water is sustained in it even when seven eighths of the inside is full of air. And water might be sustained in it even if all but a thousandth of the space contained air. When it is said that the experiment does not succeed with air within, we must understand air of ordinary density. But the air in the inside is not of ordinary density. Here the facts were correct, but the analysis was imperfect. On page 126 and the top of 127 the reasons might be good, if the statements were not wrong in fact. It would be difficult to make the law of gravitation, or any other law of nature, account for the alleged facts which we find in this book. No man who ever made an experiment has found such results as those to which we have just referred.

We will now follow our author into another province, and see how strong a case he makes out against the astronomers. We have only time to notice one objection. When the astronomer wishes to enthrone the Newtonian law over the solar system, he assigns to the sun, moon, and planets a mass exactly suited to the gravitating work which each is expected to perform. If this mass does not correspond with the bulk of the body, as ascertained by measurement, no matter; he can adjust the difference by the charm of a specific density. He selects a mass which accommodates the law of gravitation, and, as soon as it fails to do so, he drops it and takes another. The law of gravitation cannot be proved in this way. Otherwise, any law, whether true or false,

might just as well be proved. We would observe, upon this charge, that astronomers proceed in their profession in the same way that other men do in familiar affairs. If they wish to know how large a planet is, they measure it. If they wish to know how heavy it is, they weigh it. If volume and weight rarely correspond in the material of the earth, why should we expect them to be identical in the matter of the rest of the solar system? This disproportion between bulk and mass is no objection to Newton's law. We allow, however, that the law is not yet proved. But if it shall appear that the mass originally selected to suit a single purpose is wonderfully adapted to every other astronomical crisis; that the same mass which gives the sun full control over the earth is sufficient for his share in the tides; that the same mass which permits Jupiter to keep one of his satellites in its orbit will answer for the motions of the three others, and likewise for his disturbance of Saturn and the comets; that the mass by which Mercury and Venus disturb a single comet is the key to all their other attractions,—then the law of gravitation is no longer assumed, but demonstrated. The mass of the planets is found by weighing them. And they have been weighed, not in a single balance, but in manifold ways, by scales constructed on various principles; and although the beam has been watched by the sober gaze of the severest science, they have never yet been found wanting. But let us see to what extent astronomers have tampered with the masses of the planets. Jupiter, next to the sun, is the most influential member of the solar system. His mass is, therefore, of great moment. Now the mass of Jupiter has not been changed more than two per cent. since the time of Newton. The determination of Jupiter's mass by Bessel, in 1841, did not differ more than a tenth of one per cent. from the mass which Airy had recently ascribed to the same planet. And the mass of Airy varied only one third of one per cent. from that which Encke gave to Jupiter in 1826. The mass which Newton used for Saturn, in the *Principia*, differs by 16 per cent. from the recent determination of Bessel. Lagrange, in 1782, diminished the mass which Newton used by ten per cent. Laplace diminished it again by a minute quantity. Bouvard, again, by less than five per cent. Bessel increased

it by a third of one per cent., and afterwards diminished it by one twenty-fifth of one per cent. The changes, therefore, are not arbitrary, but have rapidly approximated to the true value. The same mass continues to be used for Mars which Burckhardt assigned to this planet in 1816, and his assignment varied by only five per cent. from that of Delambre. The same constancy has been preserved in the mass of Venus. Lamont, who was the first to observe the satellites of Uranus with one of the capital Munich refractors, altered at once the mass of that planet, adopted by Laplace and Bouvard, by one third; but it is now beyond the reach of any other considerable mutations. The mass of Neptune which Peirce obtained from the observations on its satellite is also the mass which most satisfactorily accounts for its interference with the motions of its neighbor, Uranus. Moreover, if the masses now used by astronomers are taken, so far from requiring a fanciful density in each particular planet, they leave Mercury, Venus, Earth, and Mars of one density, and the other planets also of the same density, though only one quarter as great as that of the first set.

Our author has a great fancy for analogies and numerical relations. He is dissatisfied with the importance which the existing system of astronomy attaches to masses. For he is not able to detect any simple relation between the density of the planets and their position in the solar system; the densities skip from one extreme to the other, without observing any law. But the diameters of the planets are more regular. They are also more truthful. You cannot trifle with them. Does he mean to say that the diameters of the planets have not experienced as great fluctuations in their determined values, from successive refinements in the construction of instruments and improved methods of observation, as the masses have suffered from the same causes, and also from the introduction of more exact calculation? Are the diameters as well measured at the present moment as the masses are calculated? And do they not skip and jump about in their relative magnitudes quite as freakishly, from one end of the solar system to the other, — from Mercury to Mars, and then back again to Venus? We have no great confidence in these numerical rela-

tions, which the author has collected from various quarters to illustrate this portion of his subject. The harmonies of the universe rarely lie exposed in this way on the surface. Unless these relations are precise in their details, and sweeping in their range, as the theory of definite proportions in chemistry, or the third law of Kepler in astronomy, they promise little aid or instruction to man. The law of Bode has been of doubtful service to astronomy. Kepler delighted like a child in ringing the changes upon the numerical elements of nature, but how few of his analogies are valued, or even remembered. Kirkwood's recent analogy, which supposes that the squares of the periods of rotation of the planets are inversely as the cubes of their spheres of attraction, awakening in the memory the grandest symphony which Kepler ever sounded upon his heavenly chords, promises much more than any of those to which our author draws notice. Kirkwood's law pays respect to the masses, and not to the diameters. Though it promises well, it has much to perform. It still waits to be confirmed, and when confirmed, to let fall its physical import.

But we must break from this topic to glance at the stale objections which the same writer brings against the present theory of the tides. He asserts that the law of gravitation is utterly incapable of explaining these oceanic phenomena. Let us heed his argument. The moon cannot raise the waters from the earth; for the moon is smaller and farther from these waters than our own planet; therefore the moon's attraction to lift the waters must be less than the earth's attraction to hold on to them. But suppose that the water should begin to rise, it would never cease to rise till it touched the moon, as the moon's attraction would be on the increase, and the earth's attraction on the decrease. Still further, as the sun's attraction on the earth exceeds the moon's, the solar tide should be higher than the lunar tide, and the mean rise and fall of the water should conform more nearly to the sun's motions than to those of the moon.

"Gravitation, if we admit all that is claimed for it, will not cover the phenomena of the tides. Imagine a miniature world, with its dry land, its lofty mountains, its wide-spread oceans, and its enveloping atmosphere, placed within the sphere of the earth's attraction. How would the earth act upon this little

world? She would draw it towards herself, with a force operating equally on its every atom. If it moved towards the earth through a resisting medium, the more solid parts might advance more rapidly than the rarer, — the granite rocks than the thin air; if it moved through void space, every part would advance with equal rapidity, all retaining the same relative position.

"So if the earth is attracted to the moon, every atom is attracted; and, if there is any motion induced, every part moves equally. Indeed, astronomers assert that 'the earth *is* constantly falling to the moon, being continually drawn by it out of its path, the nearer parts more, and the remoter less so than the central.' But the attraction of all the particles of the earth for each other, which gives it its form, which moulds it into 'this goodly ball,' is too great for the moon to separate its elements, to tear it apart as it were, — to elongate its mass so as to cause the tidal flow. If the moon attracts the earth at all, it must be as a whole, — as one mass. She cannot have greater power over one portion than over another of the earth's material. The theory of gravitation does not give the moon elective attraction, by which she is enabled to move the waters of the ocean, yet leave untouched the waters of the great lakes, or to lift the ocean and leave unmoved the bed on which it rests. And if she can lift water away from its own centre of attraction, why does she not raise the sands of the desert, the atmosphere, vapor, and the descending rain? So evident is this idea, that a scientific man in France, after writing a treatise on the tides in accordance with the present theory, remarked, how strange it is that the moon should possess this power over the waters of the ocean, when we know she cannot draw towards herself a feather floating above them!" — pp. 232, 233.

After the imperfect knowledge which the writer has displayed of the nature of fluidity, we are not surprised at his notion of the tides, bald and superficial as it is. These views, in a much more elaborate form, and with a great parade of figures, were published several years ago, by Thomas Kerigan, in a work the title of which we have already given. The author — who was a Fellow of the Royal Society of London, and who boasts of having served his country in the royal navy for thirty-eight years, and of having seen tides rise and fall in every latitude that the sun shines on, more in number than the mathematicians have ever calculated — indulges in the usual self-congratulations of the anti-Newtonian dissenters, and concludes thus: —

"I am quite satisfied that the schoolboys of another generation will *laugh* at the idea of the attractive power of the moon being the principal cause of the tides of the ocean. And they will be surprised to find that men should be so wedded to ancient prejudices, and so impervious to the admission of plain truths, — near the middle of the nineteenth century! — as not to clearly perceive the gross absurdities of our present *tidal theory*; for, instead of the reputed attractive power of the moon being three times greater than that of the sun, the intensity of the sun's attraction, at its mean distance of ninety-five millions of miles from the earth, is actually 157 times greater than that of the moon, at her comparatively short distance of 238 thousand miles..... Thus it is evident that the *Tidal Theory*, which has been so long in existence, and which is believed in by all the world, is a failure from Alpha unto Omega, for it will not bear the test of an impartial mathematical investigation."— p. 15.

It will not be difficult to point out the flaw in both these writers. They mistake the phenomenon. The water never rises from the earth in the sense in which a particle of sand or a feather must be lifted up, if it should rise. The earth never relaxes its hold upon the water; the water never leaves our planet. And this for the simple reason, that the earth attracts more than the moon. The moon cannot nullify the earth's attraction, but she can and does diminish it. She cannot destroy the gravitation of the oceans towards the earth, much less impart an absolute gravitation in an opposite direction, but she can and does weaken their terrestrial gravity. It is not true, as one of the objectors asserts, that, "if the moon attracts the earth at all, it must be as a whole, — as one mass. She cannot have greater power over one portion than over another of the earth's material." Newton never authorized such a law; and if he had, it could not have survived his own generation. Newton says that every particle of matter attracts every other particle of matter with a force which varies inversely as the square of their mutual distance. Unless it can be shown that all parts of the ocean are at equal distances from the moon, we must consent that the moon should attract some portions more than others. We may consider an ocean as consisting of liquid columns, all pointing nearly towards the earth's centre. The unequal attraction of the moon on the unequally distant parts of these columns just underneath her will diminish their mutual gravitation; in other

words, their weight. The attraction of the moon will be, for the same reason, of equal force on the whole length of other columns, situated about 90° distant from the former, so that their terrestrial gravitation is unchanged. The overpowering weight of the last set of columns will press up the first set of columns, as a heavy liquid presses up a light liquid in the arms of an inverted syphon, until the greater height of the lighter makes up for the greater specific gravity of the other. Let it be, therefore, that the attraction of the moon at the earth's surface, so far as it tends to lighten the waters, is only one seventeen-thousandth of terrestrial gravity. A diminution in their weight to this minute extent requires that the column should increase in length by more than two feet to balance other columns which suffer no such loss. It is not, therefore, Newton's law which is incapable of accounting for the tides, but another law of which Newton never dreamed, and which is only written in the *Principia* of the men who have demonstrated its barrenness. It is this spurious law which leads them to expect a greater tide from the sun than from the moon; but the true law of Newton justifies no such deduction. The author of the Outlines complains again of the lagging of the tides:—

"But the property of *vis inertiæ*, as we have said, is convenient when stubborn facts will not bow to the asserted theory. Thus the happening of spring tides two or three days after the full or new moon can be accounted for,—the tidal wave continuing to rise after the cause of its rise is weakened, from the habit which the water has acquired of increasing its flow."—pp. 230, 231.

The writer may sneer to his heart's content at the expression "*vis inertiæ*." We have no dispute about words. The language is technical, and perhaps objectionable. The idea he does not deny; he assumes it, and builds upon it in his own theory. His theory would crumble in an instant without it. His own words, in explaining the same phenomenon of the tides, are: "The extreme point of all connected phenomena thus advances beyond the exciting cause." And again: "There can be in the economy of nature no sudden suspension of the motion of large masses."

We will now attend to the system of mechanical phi-

losophy which is recommended to us in place of the old system. It is, as nearly as we can gather it from the ill-arranged and often obscure Outlines of its author, as follows. Matter is inert, "without power to move or tendency to move. It obeys the law of force, and if absolutely at rest it is without force; nothing can be affirmed of it but that it is, — the fact that it exists in space." Force is independent of matter. Force originates with God. Wherever force is, it acts. When force is present in matter which it cannot move, it is transferred to matter which it can move. The amount of force required to produce a given velocity depends on the specific character of the matter moved. A body in motion must continue in uniform motion, unless disturbed by the action of an objective cause. It must continue in motion, *but not necessarily in a straight line.* Motion is in proportion to the impelling force; *but not necessarily in the direction in which the force acts.* Force acts independently of direction. On its transfer from body to body, the direction of the motion may alter *without any loss of force.* The last body will move in any direction in which it is free to move. If the body which obstructs force cannot move at all, then the impinging body rebounds. This change in the direction of the motion on its transfer from one body to another is illustrated by the wind-mill, the waves, the billiard-ball, neither of which always moves in the direction of the body which sets it in motion. As force is independent of direction, there is no reality in the assumed centrifugal force of the old mechanical philosophy.

"Centrifugal force, too, is often illustrated by the necessity which a man finds, in running round a small circle, of leaning inwards toward the centre, 'to counteract the centrifugal force.' But we will quote a contrary opinion: 'Let any man move in a circular or elliptical line described or marked out to him, and he will find no tendency in himself either to the centre or from the centre. If he attempt the motion with great velocity, or if he do it carelessly and inattentively, he may go out of the line either from the centre or towards it; but this is to be ascribed, not to the nature of the motion, but to our infirmity, or perhaps to the animal form, which is more fitted for progressive motion in a right line than for any kind of curvilinear motion.' Thus says Lord Monboddo, and proves that philosophers are not agreed

among themselves concerning a fact, which is assumed as a 'standard example' of their mechanical doctrines. However it may be with a man running round in a circle, we feel quite sure that a revolving sphere would not have to lean inward to prevent its falling outward, or to lean outward to prevent its falling inward." — pp. 77, 78.

All bodies are moving with the earth round its axis and about the sun. As a body can occupy but one point of space at the same instant, it can only move in one direction at a time. Hence any relative motion it may have is only a modification of the grand rotary and orbital motion which it shares in common with the other parts of the solar system. The force present in a body decides the size of its orbit. A change of force enlarges or diminishes the orbit. The degree of force required to change the orbit is not measured by the change in the circumference, but in the area, of the orbit.

"The revolution of the heavenly bodies is accompanied by rotation on their axis. This connection of the primary with the secondary movement arises from another law of force, — from another property of the power which imparts motion. The two movements appear to have an opposite character. In the one, as we have seen, velocity increases by the diminution of the orbit; in the other, velocity becomes lessened as the rotating matter approaches the centre of rotation." — p. 18.

Follow next the theory into the every-day work of nature, and see how it conducts there. When a stone begins to fall, it enters on a lower level of rotation; the area of its new orbit of rotation is diminished, and hence part of the present force is released from the labor of carrying it round so fast. Thus arises spare force of descent. This spare force, being ready for any sort of work, is employed in accelerating the fall, so that the force is never idle for an instant. When the stone reaches the earth, its spare force is transferred to the earth. "The spare force of descent will be measured by the degree of descent. Hence the spare force of falling bodies is measured by the square of the time of descent, equal times giving equal distances of descent"; and, elsewhere, "The force received for elevation, the force given out by depression, is measured in one case by the increase, in the other by the decrease, of the area of the circle of rota-

tion." For the same reason the pendulum moves, and as the force required to move it is proportional to the area of the circle in which it moves, its velocity increases as its length diminishes! It requires force to lift a lump of lead, because it comes to a higher level of rotation. In the case of buoyancy, we do not dare to depart from the author's own words.

"The floating body, then, does not remain suspended from the weight of the water in which it floats. There is no tendency in the water to crowd it out of its place, nor any to hold it in its place. A floating body has no tendency to sink or to rise. It is not attracted downwards. It rests self-poised. It preserves its level because it has the rotative force of its level; it floats because the rotative energy is equally diffused through itself and the water." — p. 164.

The waves of the sea rise because the waters have abstracted from the winds force enough for a higher level of rotation. Water ascends in the pump, because the force applied at the handle is communicated to the water below, and this addition to its present force brings it to a higher level of rotation. Water boils more easily at great elevations because it possesses greater force of rotation. When a vertical column is rotating, the upper end moves faster than the lower end. Hence there is an unequal diffusion of present force in the column; an inequality which is proportional to the length of the column, the density of the material, and the mean velocity of rotation. In solids bound together by cohesion there is no limit to the possible amount of inequality. "But from the law of the diffusion of force there is a normal difference of diffusion to which all fluid bodies conform, when free to adjust their volume in relation to it." This is the origin of what this author calls the *limit of extension* in fluids. This limit is perceived only in fluids so placed that they can change their length of liquid column. This is the case with the mercury in the barometer. It keeps the normal inequality the same under every force of rotation, by extending or lessening the distance between the two surfaces. It rotates with a column which corresponds in length to the force of rotation. If the barometer is raised above the earth's surface where the velocity of rotation is increased, the length of the mercurial column diminishes, and thus maintains a con-

stant normal inequality. Hence the barometer by its rise and fall indicates directly the level at which it is situated. Its oscillations at the same level are occasioned by the elevation and subsidence of the earth's crust. There are supposed to be, not only irregular heavings of the earth's surface, but periodical and compensatory oscillations, excited by the variable distribution of the force with which the earth moves in her orbit. These enlarge the earth in one diameter and contract it in the rectangular diameter. "The elliptical form of the earth's circumference is dependent on her position, as being nearer to, or farther from, the centre of revolution; and the shrinking or expansion is regularly propagated by her rotation." When any portion of the earth's crust rises, more force for rotation is needed; when it falls, there is spare force. In the first case, the moisture of the air is taxed for this force, and is condensed; in the second case, the supernumerary force is employed in the conversion of liquid to vapor.

One part of the earth contracting while another is swelling, there is a transfer of force from the former to the latter, and force in this current form produces the changes witnessed in the magnetic element. Moreover, that part of the earth nearest the centre of revolution moves in an orbit round the sun 8,000 miles less in *radius* than the outer part. Hence it requires less force of revolution than the outside. As the earth's rotation carries every meridian once a day through both of these extreme positions, a constant transfer of *spare force of revolution* is maintained. This is the motive power of the tides. The waters do not rise *on* the earth, but with the earth.

"Before we leave this chapter, which we have devoted to the subject of the tides, we would once again recur to the opinion we expressed, that there are in all oscillatory movements two conditions of the undulation, — one, the impulse or cause; the other, the equipoise or balance, to receive the impulse. Thus, in the oscillations of the great tidal waves, we have for the impulse the transferable force of the earth's revolution in her orbit, passing from point to point in self-adjusting distribution, according as successively one hemisphere may require more, and the other hemisphere less, while the act of oscillation is the reception and transfer by the crest and valley of the wave of the rotary force of the world; the one receiving the more as it rises, the other imparting the more as it falls. Here, then, is a meeting point of these

two forces of rotation and revolution; here they join in one movement; here is the place of intermingling, of intercommunication, so that the excess of the one can supply the lack of the other, and a perfect equipoise be established for the preservation of the harmony of these great movements." — pp. 249, 250.

And so the writer goes on to apply his theory to heat, light, magnetism, galvanism, capillarity, friction, trade-winds, storms, the variations of the compass, to the efficacy of cements, to the *vena contracta* of flowing liquids, and also to reputed facts of doubtful reputation. But we cannot follow him any farther into details.

Such is the make-shift contrivance which we are invited to entertain after we have thrown away all our present science, and are left to seek for ourselves. Are we prepared to take this step? Are we ready for the question? There are no doubt difficulties besetting every scientific theory, and none are older or more entangled than those which have disturbed the doctrine of force. But the writer has not broken the slumber of one of these forgotten controversies. He has made his attack upon the clearest and strongest conclusions of science, and they will stand the more firmly for his assault. He has brought forward no fact, he has made no remark, which ought to create distrust in our adopted system of mechanical philosophy. But he has appealed from the judgment of scientific men to those who are no fit judges in the matter, and he will doubtless find among them a few sympathizing and admiring disciples. No one, certainly, should be reproached, if, from any cause, he is unable to look at facts in the same light as other men. But he should have some respect for carefully considered opinions, if he cannot adopt them; and should feel some distrust in his own till they have been weighed with equal care. Newton did not publish his *Principia* until he had pondered upon the subject for twenty years. And do we expect his views, after standing for nearly two centuries, to be overturned by the crudities of an hour? When Newton and his system are tried and condemned, it will be by his peers, and not by men who assail doctrines as his which he never taught, and confront his real system by assumed facts which are absurdly contrary to observation.

We shall content ourselves with a few remarks on the

new system of which we have attempted to give an abstract. It is vague and imaginative, loose and general. If philosophically true, it could not in its present form serve the purpose of a scientific theory. It is a philosophical dream. This system is incapable of quantitive analysis. It does not admit of being brought before the phenomena of nature and compared minutely with them. It makes use of those false analogies which are so dangerous in science, and which attract in order to betray; numerical coincidences are exalted into nature's sweetest harmonies, and the jingle of a few figures is crowned with the glory of the highest geometry. Of what possible significance is it in nature's harmonies, that the ratio of the diameter and the circumference of a circle is one to three nearly, and that the expansion of bodies lineally and in volume is also nearly as one to three? Suppose the highest waves are thirty feet and the highest tides a multiple of thirty feet, what does nature care for that?

The new system cannot interpret the most notorious phenomena of nature even in a general manner. The whimsical device of a spare force of descent must be now arraigned; and it must be asked of it to explain minutely, or even generally, all those cases of pressure and motion which are usually resolved into that antiquated prejudice, the earth's attraction. A moment's reflection will suggest to any one the very comprehensive character of this class of phenomena. Here, then, is the touchstone of the new views. If they succeed here, they may succeed everywhere. If they fail here, they will utterly fail. Now we say that the new theory is defective, root and branch, in all these applications. The phenomena of the weight and fall of bodies are exhibited in all latitudes, and with a difference of intensity that indicates a slight increase in the force which instigates them as we move from the equator towards either pole. At the pole, the force of rotation is nothing, and if a stone fall at that place, it can supply no spare force of rotation, however great the fall. According to this strange theory, there should be neither weight nor fall to bodies at the poles, where, in fact, they weigh the most and fall the fastest. And as we pass from the equator to the poles, the spare force of descent by the same amount of descent diminishes in a compound ratio. The spare force which is

released from rotation is measured by the diminution in the area of the orbits of rotation. The orbits of rotation diminish as we leave the equator. It is obvious, therefore, that a ring of a foot in diameter cut from a small orbit will diminish its area less than if cut from a large circle. Besides, the descent of a foot will take away a foot from the radius of rotation only at the equator. As we go from the equator, the breadth of the ring cut from the circle of rotation, and the size of the circle of rotation from which it is taken, both diminish, and hence the spare force of rotation diminishes by a compound ratio. The statement to the contrary on page 21 of Mr. Coues's work is geometrically false. So far are the two causes which are mentioned from balancing one another, that they aggravate each other, and make the case still more unfavorable to the spurious theory.

But there is a radical defect in the proposed theory which vitiates it at the poles, the equator, and everywhere else. It can give no reply to the following queries: — What makes a body fall in the first instance? Whence originates this fall of the first foot, which yields spare force of descent for additional velocity? Suppose a pendulum to be raised out of its place of equilibrium under the point of suspension, why should it begin to fall? Why does it not remain where it is left? Why should not a ball lifted into the air there stand for ever self-poised? It does not begin to fall for want of sufficient force to rotate at this higher level, because it acquired it from the effort expended in lifting it. Gravitation answers these questions, and all the other questions which have been propounded, satisfactorily; but its rival cannot utter a syllable. "Masses and fragments of the earth fall; when unsupported, they take a lower level of rotation, and as they fall yield up to other bodies the force of their former superior level." But why fall, even if unsupported? What need of a support, except against gravity, whose existence is ignored? If they fall because they have not force adequate to the present orbit, how did they lose it? And if they have lost it, how can they give up spare force, since they are falling from a deficiency of force? The author distinctly asserts that bodies at rest have no weight. The parts of a mountain four thousand feet high are no more pressed at the base than

at the top. "There is no weight except on condition that the mountain descends to a level of rotation." Every one knows this to be contradicted by facts. It takes muscular force, not merely to lift a body to a higher level of rotation, but also to hold it at the same level; a degree of strength which soon exhausts the most powerful arm. Everybody knows that the assumption of no pressure in bodies at rest is palpably incorrect. But we will assume it to be true; we will suppose that gravitation is an exploded dogma, and we ask again, Why does a body begin to fall? We find no more satisfactory response than this to the inquiry: "The intensity of molecular action, the pulse of nature, the very throb of force, the vibration and oscillation of all things, would account for the fact that the suspended body has motion, has the beginning of its downward course."

But what, after all, is this which we call natural philosophy? There are questions which man has put to himself and put to nature ever since philosophy has had a name among men, but which are as unanswered and as unanswerable now as in the beginning. Is there any substratum to matter, independent of its properties or radiant forces? Is there any limit to its divisibility? Are there any absolute atoms? What is the measure of force? Are all forces identical and convertible? What is the true idea of a natural force? What is the connection between natural and intellectual or moral forces, and in what relation do all these subordinate forces stand to the Almighty, the Creator and Sustainer of things? These are all questions more or less closely allied to natural philosophy. To some it has returned uncertain and conflicting answers, and some have ceased to be asked from despair. Natural philosophy has humbled itself, and is willing to serve as a day-laborer in the physical sciences; and, as its reward, it may hereafter be exalted to a throne from which it can look down on Nature to understand, as it now looks up to her to wonder, admire, and adore. What then may become sight, Science can now entertain only as a matter of faith. In this faith, unless she is blinded by the dust of her own swift, but lowly and earthly career, she will never fail to see behind her own complicated array of ways and means, and her various forces and laws, one

uniform, simple, and sublime plan of operations, whose contriver and upholder is God. If the book under particular review is regarded as a poetic vision of the more perfect age of science, it is not without valuable suggestions. But it is too inaccurate to contribute any thing towards hastening the arrival of that day for which it seems so ardently to aspire. If it make claim to enter the lists as a work on science, and on the most rigid of all the sciences, then it falls under the charge of building upon nothing but assumptions, and erecting a structure which does not illustrate, but contradicts and defies nature. It assumes, without proof, that all the forces of nature are identical and convertible; that force spared from one occupation is equally good for any other; that force is indifferent about the kind of work it performs or the direction in which it acts. All this may be true, as a philosophical principle, and it may also be true, in the same sense, that all matter is fundamentally derived from similar atoms. Nothing, however, is gained to science from the asseveration of these principles, especially as they are not proved, but only assumed. It may also be true, that, in the economy of nature, a certain fund of force has been delegated to take care of a limited quantity of matter, by virtue of which the outward phenomena of the universe are manifested. It is the business of Science, not to assume nor extravagantly to speculate; but to analyze, to compare, to measure, to investigate. Under this condition, the progress of Science is laborious and slow; but if less brilliant, it is more sure. Her path would indeed be more smooth and flowery, if her devotees could retire, with a small stock of materials, to the closet, and there construct, without reference to facts, and perhaps in defiance of facts, such a theory of force as seemed to the mind most simple and natural. Such a science might captivate, but it would not instruct or serve the world.

The human mind from the first has exhibited a proneness to construct rather than to analyze; and in constructing, it has assumed an order of simplicity which does not belong to nature. In this way it has put itself in rivalry with nature, when it should be in harmony with it. In its efforts to produce a correspondence between its own self-prompted conclusions and the un-

yielding teachings of nature, it has retarded by centuries the progress of Science, and, under the pretence of serving her, been her worst foe. On returning from its speculations to the apparently menial work of observing and investigating, it has discovered that nature conforms only to such a degree of simplicity as admits of variety; that, for example, the orbits of the planets are not circles, for this figure admits of no degrees and no varieties; neither are they wholly irregular. The wonderful sections of the cone comprise the richest variety and a very high order of symmetry. Again, the orbits, on the one hand, are not so stable as to produce monotony; on the other, they are not so fluctuating as to create disorder; but by means of oscillations of every magnitude, from those which can be measured by the beating of the heart to others which measure the duration of whole races of men, they manifest the most intense life in the midst of the highest permanency. Likewise, to assume all force to be identical can be of no use, except as a guide to research. What actual progress science has made in generalizing all the physical and chemical forces, appears from a review of the Lectures of Mr. Grove on the Correlation of the Physical Forces.

"The position which I seek to establish in this Essay is, that the various imponderable agencies, or the affections of matter which constitute the main objects of experimental physics, viz. Heat, Light, Electricity, Magnetism, Chemical Affinity, and Motion, are all correlative, or have a reciprocal dependence. That neither, taken abstractedly, can be said to be the essential or proximate cause of the others, but that either may, as a force, produce or be convertible into the other; thus, heat may mediately or immediately produce electricity, electricity may produce heat, and so of the rest.

"The term Force, although used in very different senses by different authors, in its limited sense may be defined as that which produces or resists motion. Although strongly inclined to believe that the five other affections of matter which I have above named are and will ultimately be resolved into modes of motion, it would be going too far, at present, to assume their identity with it. I therefore use the term Force, in reference to them, as meaning that active principle inseparable from matter which induces its various changes." — pp. 7, 8.

After an able review of the evidence on the subject,

Mr. Grove concludes that, although there are clear indications that a large proportion of physical phenomena are results of different kinds of motion, and that these varieties of motion are excited by the same essential force, modified in manifold ways by the molecular arrangement of the bodies through which it acts, and that a certain amount of one of these kinds of motion is equivalent to fixed quantities of all the rest, still the proof is far from complete. Moreover, this conversion of force into force, even as far as it can be traced, is subject to very peculiar conditions. Before it can be inferred that, in all the operations of nature, the same identical force is in action, producing, according to the shifting circumstances of activity, the various motions which are seen, it must be shown that the conditions for the conversion of one description of force into another exist. Mr. Coues has not taken the trouble to examine these conditions. It is impossible, in the existing state of the sciences, to prove that the periodical and irregular pulsations in the light, heat, electricity, and magnetism which make their displays upon our planet are so intimately associated as to have a common origin, and that they are all the holiday sport of a small fraction of the same force which turns the planets on their axes and wheels them round the sun, and which is spared in one place at one moment, and, after riding on a whirlwind, arming a thundercloud, or kindling an aurora, is remanded back to its grave work of moving the ponderous spheres. The final resolution of all physical and chemical forces into a single one is no novel idea; it has been the constant burden of the highest strains of Science for many years. It is her grand, triumphal song of prophecy. Mr. Coues is not content to say that such a thing may be; he undertakes to explain *how* it is, and in so doing he has given himself over to the wildest imaginations.

We wish not to be misunderstood in these remarks. We do not pretend that the view which the physical sciences take of nature is the only true view, or that it is the highest. The poet may look at nature for its beauty and sublimity; the moral philosopher may penetrate behind its physical and superficial charms to see its moral beauty; the Christian may study in nature the ever-present hand and mind of God. The mechanical

philosopher will, of course, investigate the mechanism of the universe according to the principles of ordinary mechanics. Why should it be objected to mechanical philosophy that it is mechanical? Much less should it be charged to science in general, that it analyzes, in order to understand and comprehend what would otherwise be too vast and too complex for a human mind. If we study nature in relation to its forces, then, of course, we consider the phenomena as accomplished by machinery. The mechanical philosopher may be, and sometimes is, a moral philosopher also, like Newton. He may be a devotee as well as a mathematician, like Pascal. He may be a Christian as well as an analyst, like Bowditch. If he is not always, he ought to be. He ought to admire and worship no less than to dissect and calculate. He ought to divide and subdivide in order afterwards to reconstruct and be transported by the unity, wisdom, and grandeur of the whole. In his study of specialities, in his absorption in the minute and the partial, he should always have reference to the idea that there is but one creation and a single Creator. The man of science should be a whole man in intellect and heart, even more, perhaps, than those who follow other professions. But he is exposed to the infirmities of a common nature, and while his hands are in contact with the earth, his soul may fail to aspire and ascend. But, whatever his faults and his defects, he does not deserve reproach for studying the mechanism of the heavens and the earth as he would any other mechanism. The only way by which he can enter into the plans and operations of the Creator, is by reflection on the modes of thought and action which have been followed by the human intellect. Is it objected to the divine that he is a theologian, or to the poet that he is imaginative? Why, then, be alarmed at the chemist because he tries so many experiments, or at those whose function it is to make researches into the laws of force because they are so mechanical?

We believe that the foundations of mechanical philosophy have been laid as carefully as those of geometry; and we have no fear that they will respond, by even the most delicate vibration, to the frequent, but tame, assaults which are made upon them. We must distin-

guish between mechanical axioms and the forces which are developed by their aid. We must also distinguish between science and a higher philosophy, of which we can conceive, though we cannot realize it; which may one day be a part of the possessions of the mind, though its very foundations are not yet unchangeably laid. The most we claim for physical theories is, that they bring the wonders and truths of this matchless universe down to the circumscribed comprehension of our feeble minds, and furnish exceedingly accurate generalizations of phenomena, and allow us to see through a glass darkly. When they cease to abide this test, they will be abandoned by the cultivators of science. We entirely waive the question whether this mode of representation expresses the true way in which God acts in nature. God's ways are not as man's ways. There is as much difficulty and as much danger, too, in discarding all secondary causes, and bringing God into immediate contact with the facts of sense, as in interposing the machinery of science between the Creator and his creation. If the latter conception makes him a stranger to his works, may not the former treat him with too great familiarity? If the latter banishes him from his own universe, may not the former confound him with it? If the latter incurs the danger of transforming the incomprehensible God into a wonderful artisan, is the former safe from destroying his personality?

Some one may say, If this is all that you claim for the theories of Franklin, Ampere, and Newton, that they are general descriptions of the facts, — if, for example, the physical theory of astronomy is nothing more than a generalization of the motions we behold in the solar system and elsewhere, — how does modern astronomy surpass in merit the old doctrine of cycles and epicycles? Did not that, by the admission of the best astronomers and mathematicians who now live, express the facts most perfectly, and is it not so elastic in its character that it could be accommodated to any form of planetary motion? Where, then, is the boasted progress of astronomy? The celebrated doctrine of cycles and epicycles was invented by that master of ancient astronomy, Hipparchus. It was not a necessary adjunct of that long-lived compilation of ancient astronomical views which has been transmitted

to us under the sanction of Ptolemy's name. It played a conspicuous part in the Ptolemaic system, but even Copernicus was not in a condition to dispense with it altogether. This doctrine teaches that the planetary motions are brought about by an arrangement of circles riding upon circles, not unlike the tooth and pinion wheels of our human machinery. The idea was happy for a geometer. It is obvious that any variety of motion may be caused by so facile a principle, if only the proper number of circles is selected, and of suitable size. It might be said truly of such a system, that it is incapable of proof. It certainly harmonizes with the planetary motions; but it is equally ready to respond to all other conceivable motions. We may understand, therefore, the import of Mr. Whewell's remark: "As a system of calculation, it is not only good, but in many cases no better has been discovered." It is, therefore, a correct geometrical generalization of the astronomical motions. But does it give a possible mechanical generalization of these motions? This question does not appear to have given much anxiety to the old astronomers. They did not trouble themselves with forces. Their only solution of the mechanical problem was to assign to each circle, or the crystal sphere of which it was a part, a tutelary divinity, which moved it independently of other circles, but in preëstablished harmony with them. This is the only way in which such a system could exist as a physical reality. If this mechanical view is analyzed and interpreted according to the Christian idea, it simply states that each planet moves in its own particular orbit as a man or other animal walks, by means of the life sustained in it by the Creator. Kepler supposed the planets to be monstrous animals, sporting in the ether and basking in the sun. Lord Monboddo says, in so many words, that the celestial bodies are moved by minds intellectual. "And although," says Mr. Kerigan, "the mental researches of man are *too shallow* to enable him to form any idea of how a *circular motion* could be given to an object projected into the ethereal region of space,—for with him such motion ought to be in a *right line*,—yet we are not to question the mechanical powers of the Almighty, nor attempt to measure them by our limited ideas. It was sufficient to *will* such motions." The

generalization of Hipparchus is impossible as a system of mechanism. It supposes the suns, planets, and satellites to be geared together by bands and wheels of frightful magnitude. If such machinery could be arranged for planets and comets also, so as to avoid collision, is there any independent evidence of the existence of material bands between the members of the solar system? There is none. All the evidence is against it. . No one ever pretended that such was the case. This renowned doctrine of cycles and epicycles, therefore, will ever stand in history, a monument to show that the ancient geometry was invincible, but that the mechanical notions of that elder period were not mature.

How different the reflections to be made concerning the mechanical views of Newton! The force of gravitation, if developed with exactness, will produce the motions we see. And we say that, in this case, the correspondence is a substantial proof of the reality of the mechanism. This law cannot be warped to any kind of motions, as the wheel and pinion theory. Its requirements are minute and imperative. It tolerates no orbit but a conic section. It is consistent with but one class of conceivable motions, and the marvellous evidence in its favor is, that all the varieties which are possible under the law exist, and no others. But it may be said that the law was selected to suit these cases, and no others. Even if this were true, it would show an economy in modern science which does not characterize that which preceded it. But history contradicts the assumed fact. The law was originally selected to explain the moon's motions. It afterwards appeared that the same law included every motion in harmony with Kepler's analogies. It was also selected without any reference to some of its own more remote consequences, and yet every one of these consequences which the law renders necessary does actually happen. By the universal admission of his successors, Newton has been pronounced, not only one of the greatest, but perhaps also the most fortunate of men. The Newtonian system is proved in a way in which it would be impossible to prove the ancient hypothesis. Newton did not feel his way along without committing himself to Nature until all her phenomena had been observed, and then adjust his law to all of them; neither did he make it

so general that it might answer for any latitude or longitude in the wide universe of created or imaginable motion. It was built on a few facts, and has proved sufficient for all facts. It is so minute and distinct, that any departure from it would be instantly registered in a hundred different observatories.

Again, there is no mechanical difficulty in Newton's theory. So far as we can obtain the same conditions, we may imitate the planetary motions. We do not assert the existence of the force of gravitation, inherent in the planets or sustained in them by God, as a reality, for there may be other and diviner ways of accomplishing the same results which may be never dreamed of in human science and philosophy. We only say, that, if we assume such a law of force, we can explain all that we observe; and all that follows from it we do observe. We can explain the planetary, cometary, and sidereal motions, not by erecting circles upon circles, and wheels upon wheels, whose existence is not attested by the senses, but by supposing this force to act without the intervention of machinery on the bodies subject to its control. It is not, therefore, like the other, such a machine as man might make, and would have been most likely to make; it is a machine of which man would not have dreamed, if it had not been forced on his notice by its exhibition in the sky. It is a machine which he can understand and admire, but poorly imitate. It is free, to a great, if not to an absolute extent, from all the besetting infirmities of human machinery, — friction and resistance; and realizes the delusive dream of all man's mechanical aspirations, a perpetual motion. It is a machine, but it is a divine machine. It is mechanism, but it is the mechanism of the heavens. Its contriver is an architect, but he is a divine architect. When we select even this lowest attribute of God, when we study his perfections as the contriver and builder of this material world, his power and wisdom transcend the wisdom and power of generations of his noblest created intellects to a degree which allows of no adequate expression. Let us look up to God as a geometer and mechanician. Let us study and admire his grand and inimitable architectural designs. We need not the less adore him for the spirits he has created, and for his own transcendent holiness and goodness. J. L.

Art. V. — REFLECTIONS.

The wish of each sex to please the other seems to have given the first impulse to polished manners and elegant arts, and thus to lie at the foundation of civilization.

Resistance to small temptations gives strength to overcome great ones. All the moral strength which a man can gain he will sooner or later need.

EPITAPH FOR AN INFANT.

This little dewdrop of the dawn
Glittered a moment, and was gone.

An infant's entreaty is more powerful than a sovereign's command.

The sayings and doings of men of high reputation have an "imputed" merit independent of their own.

A little praise upsets a little mind.

It is better to set a good example than to follow a bad one.

I have heard a man say that the way by which he had kept his health was by living to-day so as to be well to-morrow.

Distrust poisons the cup of life, and fetters the energy of men. The defences which it makes them build impair their own and others' power to act and to enjoy. But distrust is the necessary consequence of sin. One man's fraud or violence may destroy the mutual confidence of thousands.

An evil when dwelt upon is apt to become unduly magnified, and our efforts and sacrifices to get rid of it are often ludicrously disproportionate to its real importance.

The way to have all that you want is to want only what you can have.

If men had more self-control, self-indulgence would be more safe.

A great mind makes public interests paramount to private. A small mind does the reverse.

A suggestion is often more effective than an argument.

Life is too short to admit of our doing all the things which are to be done "only this once."

Unbolted flour, 't is often said,
Affords a much more wholesome bread
For strengthening the frame of man
Than flour that 's sifted from the bran;
So he, whose lot it is to bear
Labor and suffering and care,
Acquires a stronger, healthier tone
Than those to whom they ne'er were known.

The importance of discoveries is often in singular contrast to the worthlessness or insignificance of the discoverers. God seems to choose such inadequate means in order to show distinctly that the good is his gift.

Many men write worse than they need to, in straining to write better than they can.

How much pains people take to provide things unnecessary, and preserve them unused!

To excuse our faults on the score of our weakness is to quiet our fears at the expense of our hopes. For if we cannot be virtuous, we cannot expect the rewards of virtue.

The conduct of men depends so much on their peculiarities of constitution, and the thousand influences which have acted and are acting on them, that no one but their Maker can judge them aright.

Most people intend, some time or other, to accomplish some great thing or other, but usually fail somehow or other.

The following fable is translated from Lessing: —

A lion once, in days of yore,
Laid by the terrors of his roar,
To mingle (so old tales declare)
In friendly converse with a hare.

"Can it be true," says puss, "dear Sir!
(What I have heard my friends aver,)
That the mere crowing of a cock
Will give your royal nerves a shock?"
"Indeed," his majesty replied,
"The fact, my dear, can't be denied,
But idle terrors, 't is confessed,
Will agitate the noblest breast;
The grunting of a pig can daunt
That mighty beast, the elephant."
"Ah, now," cries puss, "the reason 's clear
Why hares turn tail when hounds draw near."

Petty irritations are often aggravated, prolonged, or renewed by ill-judged apologies. Turbid waters settle best when left quiet.

A reasonable man does not expect to find men in general so.

Most men can do little. If not satisfied with that, they are likely to do less.

Is it true that "Envy does merit as its shade pursue"? Merit, if obscure, is not envied. But distinction is, even if unaccompanied by merit.

In youth men are critical, for they see others' faults, but not their own. Experience makes them forbearing, by teaching them their own need of forbearance.

Men often try to light the world with a lamp that has gone out.

A man continually forgets, so that, if he does not continually learn, he will know less and less.

The greatest changes in the face of nature and the condition of men often take place the most quietly.

Self-inspection is the best cure for self-esteem.

The bat, amid the thickest night,
And even when deprived of sight,
Safely pursues her rapid flight,
Led by a strange, mysterious sense,
The gift of bounteous Providence;
So when our way is wrapped in gloom,
Which reason's ray cannot illume,

Still 'bides the sense by which we learn
'Twixt good and evil to discern;
And doubts are hushed and terrors flee
Before the indwelling Deity.

The evil of apprehension is often worse than the evil apprehended.

When a man's defects are overlooked in consideration of his merits, the former often increase with years.

The confession of a defect is often made a substitute for the correction of it.

A virtuous effort may fail, but not a virtuous life.

A man is often sure that he is right, because he is too stupid to see that he is wrong.

Severe trials fit us to profit by light ones.

The more a man improves by the faults and follies of others, the less he has to smart for his own.

How can a man expect that others will be candid with him, when he knows that, under similar circumstances, he should not be candid with them?

A great reader, habitually borne on the current of other men's ideas, is not likely to work out a channel of his own.

Luxury is sometimes defended as supporting labor, but labor is ill employed that produces only trifling or hurtful results.

Dr. Johnson habitually dwelt on moral truths, clothed his thoughts in finished language, and stored them in his capacious memory; so that composing a moral essay was little more to him than what copying a rough draft is to most persons.

Warnings generally come before punishments. To live wisely, we must profit by them seasonably.

Men often present to others motives which they themselves despise, and respect for their good opinion often prevents others from following their advice.

Death has consigned many a man to fame whom longer life would have consigned to infamy.

Names become strangely travestied by use, particularly in passing from one language into another. Many years ago, a Spanish boy named Benito (pronounced Benēto) came to live in Salem. On the voyage the sailors called him Ben Eaton, and this was the name that he afterwards bore.

Misstatements about subjects respecting which men know and care little often pass current because no one takes the trouble to examine them.

Success and failure are often attributed to partial or transient causes, when really owing to general or lasting ones.

Men usually seek a wide reputation rather than a high one.

Men in general are very willing to be led, if they are led courteously.

High-colored statements, like showy daubs, attract attention, but only to produce disgust.

Good rules cannot supply the place of good judgment.

It depends very much on the speaker and the occasion, whether general observations are received as great truths or as stale truisms.

Half-doing commonly leads to twice-doing.

A controversialist who stings his adversary adds to his energy. A retort is almost always easy to a man in whom anger has overcome respect for his opponent and for himself.

We will add one more to the many translations of the French epigram: —

"Le monde est plein de fous,
Et qui n'en veut pas voir,
Doit se nicher dans un trou,
Et casser son miroir."

The world is full of fools;
They're never out of view,
Unless you turn your back
On men and mirrors too.

Moral teaching is effectual principally by deepening impressions already made by experience. A moral lecture addressed to a person whose own experience does not bear testimony to its truth, is of little avail. It is not strange, then, that the young should find such discourses tedious.

Moral stimuli, like physical, become less effective by repeated application. Hence it is important to vary the incentives to goodness.

Every man must form his rules of conduct for himself. One man's moral principles are not likely to meet the wants of another, any more than one man's coat is likely to fit another. A man's principles should be such as to counteract his predominant weaknesses, and as these differ in different men, different principles or rules of conduct will be required to meet them.

Men tend continually to extremes, and are kept within bounds principally by collision with each other.

Well-grounded religious notions require much experience of life. God lies beyond the objects and interests which surround us, not before them. We must understand them before we can understand their author.

To do much good, one must often endure much evil; but it is better to fix one's eyes habitually on the means of doing good than on the need of enduring evil. To act with spirit, one must be able to act with cheerfulness. The only way to escape the evils of life is to rise above them.

Great lies, portentous absurdities, often obtain credence more readily than falsehoods of less pretension. Ordinary falsehoods can usually be disproved by ordinary means; but when men are called upon to believe something entirely beyond their comprehension, their love of the mysterious and longing for the supernatural dispose them to be duped by bold impostors. Those who strain at a gnat will often swallow a camel.

To do one's duty makes one happy. A happy man feels that God is benevolent. He who thinks God benevolent trusts in him. Right-doing, then, produces trust in God.

"Great is Diana of the Ephesians," and always will be while the ruling motives of men are profit and ease, for profit and ease are best secured by adherence to established institutions.

How often painful feelings rise,
Flush in our cheeks, and fill our eyes,
When looking back ourselves we see
Daguerreotyped in memory!
How sharp is by-gone folly's dart!
How long it rankles in the heart!
How light a touch renews the smart!

When reason wakes and travels o'er
The path which folly trod before,
And pleasure drops the fair disguise
Which made her lovely in our eyes,
We feel her venomed sting the more,
The more we felt her charm before.
'T is sweet to sip of pleasure's cup,
But woe to him who drinks it up!

If the spirit slumbers, it will be seized like the slumbering Gulliver in Lilliput, and bound down to the earth by a host of contemptible assailants.

When prevalent errors are clearly exposed, they are seldom generally renounced, but usually disappear by degrees and are forgotten.

Men's happiness and unhappiness depend mainly on circumstances which in description would seem insignificant. Their apparent insignificance arises from the impossibility of our feeling for others as we do for ourselves. We are hardly capable of sympathy, except with those whose feelings are excited by great good or great evil. And we, therefore, continually overlook the effect of trivial circumstances on the happiness of others.

A man writes easily on subjects which he well understands, but with difficulty on those of which he knows little. Of course the merit of his works is often in an inverse proportion to the labor bestowed on them at the time of composition. But what costs a man much labor he is apt to value more than what costs him little. Writers are often, therefore, poor judges of the relative merits of their works.

Will not steam eventually fuse the languages of Western Europe into a *lingua Franca*? The mongrel dialect of some novelists and travellers shows the effect of the free intercourse between different countries.

The notions which men received upon the authority of others in childhood often lie in their minds through life unexamined, and with the weight of axioms. This is the chief source of political and religious bigotry.

> The source of love is sympathy,
> Whose gentle promptings teach
> Two hearts to beat in unison,
> Responsive each to each.
> From heart to heart alternately
> Her influences run,
> And draw them close and closer still,
> Until the two are one.

The common sayings and doings of extraordinary men are interesting, even if they have nothing peculiar. For the points of resemblance between great men and ordinary men are worth noticing.

Long after the works of great men, statesmen, writers, artists, have perished, and their fame has ceased, the influence of what they have done may remain and spread, and perhaps afford gratification to their departed spirits. If such spirits take an interest in the world which they have left, it is natural to suppose that they will rejoice much more in their influence than in their fame.

The sense of danger increases with years. The infant knows no danger. The young child knows little and fears little. They continue in life only because they are closely watched. Time removes the guardianship, discloses continually new sources of danger to body and mind, and shows that health, life, and virtue can be preserved only by continual vigilance. So that men, having begun life with being rash, end it with being timid.

Romantic names given to children are usually curtailed of their fair proportions to fit them for use, and thus become more vulgar than names of no pretension.

> If we live as we should,
> We shall die as we would.

A sneer is a poisoned arrow; a rebuke is a surgeon's knife.

Exercise is labor without its satisfaction.

The soul, like new-fallen snow at birth,
Is soon defiled when lodged on earth;
And as the sun, with fervid beams,
Dissolves the snow to running streams,
Whence pure, ethereal vapors rise
To seek their mansion in the skies,
So do the beams of grace divine,
Melting the soul on which they shine,
Purge off the earth's polluting leaven,
And draw the spirit up to heaven.

Facts are often converted into fictions, by being seen through the medium of the imagination.

Some men's wisdom overflows, because their capacity is small.

The objects with which a man has long been familiar are written over with mementos of the past. When the old have to part with their homes, it is like losing the journal of their lives.

The existence of an actual "Prince of Darkness" seems to be taken for granted by the great majority of men. If there is any form of figurative language which approaches universality, it is that which is borrowed from him. He is a stereotyped simile, familiar in the mouths of men as household words. Poetry is full of him. Lucifer, Satan, Mephistopheles, are continually at work ensnaring the souls of men. He has been called the hero of the great English epic. Almost every wild landscape shows some of his handiwork. Many a ruined tower bears the marks of his might. Infinite is the number of the crimes that have been committed at his instigation. The progress of intelligence, it is true, has reduced his consequence, but though he is no longer the rival of Omnipotence, he is still the arch-enemy of man, the only satisfactory solution to the multitude of the conflict of good and evil continually going on in their bosoms.

The natural product of knowledge is not pride, but humility, since the great lesson which it teaches is the

extent of our ignorance and the limited nature of our faculties.

> The pride of man in what he knows
> Keeps lessening as his knowledge grows.

There are incessant calls upon men for benevolent efforts, but it is not necessary nor proper for a man to endeavor to be useful in a great variety of ways. He should select his objects, and to most of the appeals which are made to him he should respond only by increased devotion to the objects which he has chosen. If he uses such appeals as incentives to greater efforts in his particular sphere, he will accomplish more than he would if he were to fritter away his powers and means in a great variety of efforts.

Simplicity of character, even that degree of it which provokes a smile, does not diminish the reputation or influence of a man of sterling worth. It inspires confidence, and confidence is the corner-stone of influence.

A disease appears to become common as soon as it receives a name, for its name leads people to inquire into its nature, and many of them find that its symptoms are familiar to them.

Those who struggle earnestly with bad feelings acquire at length the power of crushing them without a struggle.

System sometimes costs more than it is worth. It is important to observe rules, but it is hardly less important to be able to break them.

> A man who never breaks a rule
> Is little better than a fool.

People use language so differently, that it is often difficult to judge of what a man means by what he says, unless we are accustomed to his mode of talking. I have heard one man speak of another as being "stout and hearty," when he meant to describe the bloated appearance produced by intemperance.

Man cannot alter the conditions of his existence, but he can adapt himself to them, and "make the happiness he does not find."

What a continual war is waged between our pride and vanity, on one side, and our true interests, on the other!

The great business of each generation is to train and provide for the next.

The happiness which men derive from their possessions is much in proportion to the degree to which their own labor is mixed up with them. A little that a man has earned gives him more satisfaction than much that has come to him without effort of his own.

What one man thinks censure, another thinks praise. In fact, men are often praised for their faults and blamed for their virtues. And acts of virtue which cost a man little effort are often much more commended than those which required the greatest sacrifices.

A man superior to others in some respects is apt to forget that the constitution which fits him to excel in some particulars may make him fall below the average of men in others.

Advice is a medicine that requires to be administered discreetly. Otherwise, it will do more harm by disturbing the patient than good by its specific effect.

Until the drama of life has been acted out, we cannot understand the plot.

It is the remembrance, the presence, or the apprehension of evil, that makes men serious. Without suffering, this would be a world of triflers. As one of the fair speakers in the Rape of the Lock says:—

> "O, if to dance all night and dress all day
> Charmed the small-pox or kept old age away,
> Who would not scorn what housewife's cares produce,
> Or who would learn one earthly thing of use?"

A man who is talking hurriedly, and hesitates between two words or phrases, frequently brings out a medley of both.

A man who is proud of small things shows that small things are great to him.

Men often sacrifice a good thing to obtain a better one of the same kind, when if they had "left well alone," and turned their efforts in a different direction, their sum of good would have been greater.

Many superstitious notions probably had their origin in devices to answer particular ends. For instance, a careful housekeeper would be very likely to originate the saying that "it is bad luck to break a looking-glass."

The poor are generous. One who has but little mind is the most ready to give others "a piece" of it. I once heard it remarked of a certain person, that it was not strange that her mind was almost gone, as she had given so many people "a piece" of it.

Arguments originate from belief quite as often as belief from arguments. The belief is often a mere prejudice unsupported by reason, until some occasion arises for defending it; and the arguments are the result of a search for reasons to support the prejudice.

Greatness is the parent of fame, but obscurity is the parent of greatness.

A man's judgment of others affords him the best index to their judgment of him.

We distrust the opinions of those who observe little and think less; and this is the reason why most persons distrust their own opinions, and follow the lead of any confident and plausible adviser.

The greatest commotions often take place about the smallest matters, for these are what most readily interest most men.

High words usually indicate low manners.

A remark often strikes, not from its intrinsic merit, but from its appropriateness to the occasion, and appears flat when repeated, because the occasion cannot be recalled.

No teacher can supply the place of experience to the young, for nothing but experience can correct their rash confidence in their own judgment.

Good and evil are continually assuming new forms, which take the place of old ones. We frequently err when we consider the new forms as an addition to the old stock.

Thoughts that defile or darken and corrode the mind we should put away instantly, as we remove oil or ink from our clothes before they can work in and become fixed.

What passes for virtue is often but habit formed by external influences, and liable to fail with a change of circumstances.

Is not every act of duty attended with more pleasure in the recollection than pain in the performance? If so, every duty done adds to the sum of a man's happiness.

From the weakness of man's intellect, his general principles are drawn from partial observations. Of course they are true only to a limited extent, and often run counter to each other. There is a great variety of them, suited to all tastes and interests. Like the mercenary troops of the Middle Ages, their services can be had by any side that wants them.

The old are apt to forget how fast circumstances change, how soon men and events are forgotten. The names which stir them like a trumpet are idle sounds to younger ears. Each generation lives in a different world.

Man walks through life as through a crowded street, continually turning to the right or left to avoid or accommodate others. The tastes and interests of different individuals and classes are in continual conflict, and the relative strength of the conflicting elements is continually varying; so that the normal condition of life is perpetual turmoil.

We cannot enjoy good without constant risk of incurring evil. The flowers and fruits of life grow on the brink of a precipice.

The idea of different degrees of advancement among immortal beings, growing out of the different periods of their creation, is lost when we think of eternity. How

little distinction there will be three millions of years hence between the man who died to-day and the man who died three thousand years ago! The proportion of three thousand years to three millions is about that of twenty-five days to seventy years.

Experience says that all must suffer. "And hopest *thou* hence unscathed to go?"

When we complain of the folly of mankind, we forget that, if men had been wiser, they would not have been put here to get wisdom.

Man makes his condition as good as it is by always trying to make it better than it is.

The effect of poetry or eloquence often depends upon the accidental associations connected with some word or phrase, borrowed perhaps from the nursery, the school, the market, the familiar proverb, or the historical reminiscences of a people. When passages which derive their interest from such sources are translated into a foreign language in which the corresponding words have no such associations, the spirit evaporates. In fact, faithful translations of foreign poems are seldom acceptable, except to scholars familiar with the originals.

A man without interest in his occupation becomes lethargic, and life drags heavily. A man unduly interested becomes restless, eager, narrow-minded, blind to his most important concerns, and tormented by a diseased craving that seeks gratification at a cost vastly disproportionate to the good gained. It is hard to see and reach the just medium.

The more reputation a man has for cunning, the more distrust is felt of him, and the less can his cunning avail him.

As the source of the ludicrous is incongruity, things sad, and even disgusting, may be ludicrous. For instance, drunkenness is so incongruous with the character of man as a reasonable being, that it excites the merriment of the thoughtless. But the mirth which usurps the place that belongs to sorrow and shame hardens and corrupts the heart.

Great efforts to benefit society sometimes seem to produce little good. But the seed sown often springs up and bears fruit in after years. And one good effect is sure to follow them. They keep alive a benevolent spirit, and thus prepare the way for more successful efforts in time to come.

Check the beginnings of mental agitation, and no violent commotion of the spirits will take place. If the wind could not ruffle the waters, it could never raise waves mountain-high.

We may not see why we should suffer, but we do see that suffering naturally produces wisdom and virtue, and that wisdom and virtue naturally produce happiness.

The Christian has what Archimedes asked for, a point of support detached from the world, and this enables the Christian teacher to move the world.

> When, heralding the tempest's end,
> The bow of promise spans the sky,
> Its transient hues of beauty blend
> With faith and hope that never die.

Thoughts are like fruits; they take time to ripen, and when ripe drop off of themselves, but are unfit for use till then.

A kind and skilful adviser excites others to think by slight suggestions, and spares their pride by leading them to form conclusions, instead of broadly stating his own.

Generally speaking, the men most widely known and honored by their contemporaries are those who apply established truths to valuable ends, while those who extend the boundaries of natural or moral science often pass their lives in comparative obscurity, and become famous only after death.

Men's situations do not often suit them, unless they are compelled to suit themselves to their situations.

Persons of little mental training confound impressions and inferences with facts to such a degree, that their statements must be received with great caution. When they undertake to repeat a man's words, they often give

you, not what he said, but what they think he meant, and in relating facts they mix their opinions with them, so that the two cannot be discriminated. In repeating a story, they add to the statement which they received the inferences which they think necessarily follow. In this way stories grow so much by repetition, that the tale of "the three black crows" is not more extravagant than many which are told. We may add, that men seldom have precise knowledge except of subjects in which they are personally interested; but pride relucts at saying, "I don't know," and so they make confident statements, when they should confess ignorance.

A man is always able to learn or do something that will be of service to himself or others, although he is not always able to choose what that something shall be.

E. W.

Art. VI. — ANCIENT MONEY TRANSACTIONS.

We should endeavor to divest ourselves of the opinion, that men, in the most remote ages, were very different in disposition from those of our times. As the true explanations of the causes, intentions, and principles of ancient laws are disclosed to us, we perceive very striking resemblances between ancient and modern people. The manners, customs, and information of distant nations vary from our own, but the impulses and dispositions which originated them were the same with our own. References to the intentions of both are essential to the just explanation of the practices of either.

The world must have been considerably advanced in knowledge in the days of Abraham, who, born in Chaldea, in the midst of ancient civilization, luxury, and superstition, is the first one of his race mentioned by Hebrew writers who possessed and paid out gold or silver, in both of which, as well as in cattle, he is described as having been "rich."

Abraham left his father's home and kindred, according to the narrative, because "they served other gods." And when we see the "strange gods of the Assyrians," we obtain some idea of the causes for various commands in the Hebrew laws, that appear not necessary at the present day, with our customs, some of which, however, may still be obnoxious to similar reproof. Abraham is represented in the Hebrew writings as having purchased "a field for a possession," "with a cave, and all the trees," as a burying-place for Sarah, his wife, paying for them "four hundred shekels (or *weighed pieces*) of silver, current with the merchant." This is a very intelligible announcement of a large circulation, at that time, and also of some exact regulation in the quality or "standard" of the "pieces" of metal designed to be designated by the very notice of their weight. The whole description of formal witnesses, and the systematic transfer of values, exhibit the prevailing civilization of the age in which Abraham lived.

The affinities of weights among ancient nations are thought to prove that the Roman weights came from Greece, the Grecian from Phœnicia, and the Phœnician from Babylon, near Abraham's birthplace. Thus our own weights claim a very respectable antiquity.

The fact of Abraham's paying "pieces of silver by weight," is related in the Hebrew writing as "a common usage." Some readers may not be aware that every "piece" of money issued by modern mints is "weighed"; the mint performing acts which were formerly common to "the merchant" and the goldsmith, which practice still prevails among the Asiatics. Any suspicion of loss in weight causes gold coins to be reweighed among us, privately, now.

In the book of Job, considered more ancient than the other Hebrew writings, we read that, after his recovery from sickness, "every man of Job's friends and relations gave him a piece of money, and every one an ear-ring of gold." Allowing for a peculiarity in the idiom and the poetic character of the language, we understand that Job received *either* an ornament of value, *or* a piece of money from *each* of his friends and relatives. The interchange of such presents was a well-known compliment in the East. The words "ear-ring" and "money" may

have been used synonymously, for ornaments of gold were often delivered "by weight" as "money," their title of fineness being appreciated by the parties.

"The images" which Rachel "hid in her camel's furniture" were called "gods," probably from their devices or forms, being in the shape of animals, which were worshipped. Laban's "images" or "gods" were also evidently considered and plainly termed "money," which his daughter Rachel "stole," in the language of the Scriptures, as a feminine assertion of her right to an inheritance from her father's house, where, she says, "she was treated as a stranger." The merchant-men from Midian, "with camels bearing spicery into Egypt," who bought Joseph from his brethren, appear to have had their "silver" "pieces" ready for that trade, and counted them without delay. Jacob's sons carried "money" into Egypt "to buy corn," which money was afterwards found tied up in their corn sacks, and was tested by weight, when it was returned the second time.

The arts of casting small images or ornaments of gold, and stamping or graving impressions on "pieces" of metal, like *coins*, as well as the more difficult process of graving on gems, were known and mentioned at a very early period of history. Indeed, the existence of "good gold," that is, we presume, of good quality, is noticed in Genesis before the creation of man. The name of "the land of Havilah," in which it was found, being obtained from one of the descendants of Shem, shows that the written record of this curious tradition was made long after the precious metal was discovered.

The Hebrew laws designate prompt cash payments, and indicate a currency of different denominations, the smallest, as well as the largest "pieces"; for "the wages of an hireling" were ordered to be "daily" paid, and such "wages" could not have been of large amount, unless the circulation was greater than we estimate it. Payments in metallic money, "weighed pieces," "images," ornaments, or coins, are frequently mentioned in the Hebrew writings. They are also exhibited in the descriptions of ancient Egyptian paintings.

How is it that, with such numerous evidences of their existence, no coins are found in the ruins of Assyria or of Egypt? We perceive, in the accurate details of

the Hebrew writings, that Jonah "paid his fare" like a passenger, from Joppa, a port on the Mediterranean, to Tarshish, probably Issus, on his route to Nineveh, where Mr. Layard is said to have discovered a monument erected to his memory; at any rate, inscribed with his name. But Mr. Layard mentions, that "no coins have been discovered among the Assyrian ruins, nor is there any thing in the sculptures to show that the Assyrians were acquainted with money, as in Egypt." It is also remarkable, that no coins of great antiquity have yet been found in Egyptian ruins, although the Egyptians are known to have had a metallic currency.

Herodotus visited Babylon, "which once gave laws to all the nations of the East," about 2,300 years ago, and then described the signs of its decay. He relates that "all the coins which remained from the surplus revenues of Asia, after defraying the current expenses of the year, were melted into *earthen jars.* When the metal cooled, the jars were broken, and the bullion placed in the treasury." This description of a simple usage, of apparent insignificance, elucidates in a distinct manner the state of the mechanic arts in the time of Herodotus. We have no doubt that the words translated "earthen jars" refer to what we call "sand crucibles," which are frequently alluded to in the impressive compositions of the ancient Hebrews under the title of "*the melting-pot.*"

Gold and silver being well known, and used as media of exchange in the earliest ages on record, let us attempt to discover if some substitutes, *similar to our own*, did not, in the progress of ancient civilization, take the place of their metallic currency.

We have been informed that Mr. Layard, during his investigations in the neighborhood of ancient Nineveh, has discovered "a chamber filled with terra-cotta tablets, the inscriptions of which are stamped in."

The "Account of Nineveh and its Remains" affirms that

"The most common mode of keeping records in Assyria and Babylonia was on prepared bricks, tiles, and cylinders of clay, baked after the inscription was impressed upon them." "The characters appear to have been formed by an instrument, or may sometimes have been stamped." "The Chaldean priests

informed Callisthenes, that they kept their astronomical calculations on bricks baked in the furnace."

A similar practice is described in the Hebrew writings. Ezekiel, who lived near the river Chebor, in Assyria, was commanded "to take a tile, and portray upon it the city of Jerusalem." In those countries, such processes of publication offered an excellent means of protection against insects of destructive character, and Ezekiel's practice presents a very decided representation of what we should call "a geographical lithograph," — in intention, — still differing from our mode of procedure in forming modern maps.

Mr. Layard describes as upon two hexagonal cylinders,

"About sixty lines of writing on each side, of such minute characters that the aid of a magnifying-glass was required to ascertain their forms. Royal names are frequently repeated, and the whole appears to be some public document or historical record." "Upon a barrel-shaped cylinder of baked clay, at Bagdat, there are many lines of writing, accompanied with the impressions of seals, probably of attesting witnesses." "On a fragment of tile brought from Nimroud, in the most minute letters, are parallel columns, apparently of words and numbers, like an account."

"On a rectangular tile, a small engraved cylinder of stone or metal appears to have been rolled, or passed round the edges, probably to prevent enlargement or contrefaction of the document." "Tablets of alabaster, inscribed on both sides, were also discovered among the ruins of Nimroud." "The inscriptions on the Babylonian bricks are generally inclosed in a small square, and are formed with considerable care and nicety. They appear to have been impressed with a stamp, upon which the entire inscription, and not isolated letters, was cut 'en relief.' This art, so nearly approaching to the modern invention of printing, is proved to have been known at a very remote epoch to the Egyptians and the Chinese."

Wilkinson's "Account of the Ancient Egyptians" informs us that "a soldier's leave of absence had been discovered among the ruins of Egypt, written upon a piece of broken earthen-ware." It has also been discovered that the Egyptian monarchs "stamped their names on bricks or tiles, which were then burned in the furnace." This practice must have served as evidence of some important matter, for we cannot suppose it one of simple

idleness or uselessness. The stamps employed were formed of blocks of hard wood, several of which are preserved in European collections. The characters are generally "incised," so that the impressions are "en relief," prominent, or raised above the surface. Stamps, or blocks of letters, have been used by the Chinese, upon paper, from a very distant period.

These descriptions of ancient customs all indicate the same precautions and care which are now employed on printed, or engraved, and written bills, for monetary exchanges among us, and it would be a curious discovery if some of these ornamented cylinders, tiles, or bricks should prove to be receipts for funds drawn from the ancient Assyrian or Egyptian treasuries, or bonds which have been presented, redeemed, and paid. Let us suppose that, "for the despatch of business," tiles, thin bricks, or cylinders of clay and earthen-ware, stamped with the sovereign's seal, bearing his name and titles, (figured images within a scroll,) were employed as evidences of deposits in the public treasury, or were issued by the proper officers, as *durable* receipts for bullion, valuable ornaments, and money lent to the government. Let us suppose them, in fact, to have answered all the purposes of modern stocks, and to have been tokens of loans and receipts for subscriptions to ancient Egyptian and Assyrian investments. The appropriations for civil and military lists, for aggressive or defensive wars, for ecclesiastical and other public establishments, must have been paid anciently in some way. Bricks impressed with the sovereign's sign-manual form certainly as precious certificates as printed or engraved paper. The value of each would be in exact proportion to the confidence, or the want of it, in the people who lend or borrow. In times of adversity or pressure, such tokens would be handed in for payment. With the declension of the parent countries, the precious metals would take the course of emigration to distant colonies, and gradually change their forms and devices, as they do at the present day. If the receipts *are* found, the "coins" and bullion have passed elsewhere. The same results would again ensue under similar circumstances now.

From the freshness of the *metallic* colors used by the artists upon the unfinished sketches and paintings on

some of the walls of Egyptian temples overwhelmed by sand for many centuries, we have evidence of a very sudden interruption to industry.

We may consider the Hebrew moral laws to have been designed as a reformation of preceding customs and institutions, and such explanations are frequently offered by their writers to the people. The Hebrew moral laws forbade practices previously permitted or pursued by the Hebrews themselves. The proofs of this have been sometimes carelessly accounted as contradictions, when really dependent upon inaccurate reference to time or periods in their history.

We may suppose that prompt cash transactions did not prevail generally among the Egyptians, as the Hebrew laws were designed to conflict with the objectionable practices of neighboring nations. Now punctuality in the payment of debts was very strictly insisted upon by the Hebrew moral laws, from the highest to the lowest in society, all other practices being termed "deceptive" or "oppressive." The Hebrew writers also demonstrate the importance of "exact weights," "balances," and "measures," and the whole system of "borrowing upon pledges," often of small amount, exhibits at once the intention to secure honesty, and just protection to the rights and interests of all the people. Although our translation of the Bible asserts that "usury," understood as "the excess of interest above a lawful standard," was the subject of prohibition by the Mosaic laws, Hebrew scholars now interpret the command as *an interdiction of all payment of interest* whatever. By an absolute law, the destitute Hebrew was prevented from paying any interest to his richer brother, who was not permitted to refuse to lend "for his necessities." "A pledge," or "security" for the repayment of loans, was allowed by the law, with well-defined exceptions, in cases of extreme destitution, when even this practice of security was forbidden. The feelings of a poor debtor were kindly protected from the intrusion of a creditor within his door.

"When thou dost lend thy brother any thing, thou shalt not go into his house to fetch his pledge. Thou shalt stand abroad, and the man to whom thou dost lend shall bring out the pledge abroad unto thee. And if the man be poor, thou shalt not sleep with his pledge." — Deut. xxiv. 10 – 12.

The refusal to lend, or the neglect to pay a just debt, are equally abhorrent to the Hebrew code. "The wicked borrow, and pay not again," and "the wicked oppress the poor." Other enactments with regard to the accounts of debtor and creditor show very conclusively, in our opinion, the extent to which a system of credits or general indebtedness had been already carried, and the distinct references to the revolutions and distresses of ancient nations are recognized in history to have prevailed before the Hebrew exodus.

Debt is called "a curse" and not "a blessing" among individual men, as among nations, in the Hebrew writings. Such monetary restrictions appear to have been given for the special benefit of the poorest and most industrious classes, upon whose industry the burden of repayment ultimately falls. The exceptions to general laws, applied for the benefit of the poorest debtors, show that the first care of these laws was for such of the people as were least able to sustain themselves; and this purpose is compared to the practice of good shepherds, who "regard the feeble of their flocks."

The Hebrews were "promised" that they "should have few poor," if they obeyed these laws of moral obligation, and "should have to lend, and not to borrow of other nations." If we regard modern society in countries where different laws and customs prevail, we shall see the appropriate results in the condition and the multiplication of the poor.

But although the poor Hebrew was directed that he should not pay interest to his own brother, or countryman, yet all Hebrews were commanded to pay interest, if they borrowed "of a stranger," — that is, of one not under the same control of moral, economical, and general government as themselves. Such an enactment was highly "honorable" to the national character, but could never have been designed to encourage a system of general indebtedness to strangers.

The Egyptians sometimes pledged their mummies for the repayment of a debt. Among that people, a mummy was considered among the very best kinds of security. It is not improbable that, on this account, among other reasons, the Hebrews were told, "Ye shall not spend money for the dead."

The general opposition to "deception and oppression," which preceded the delivery of the ten commandments, is figured by reference to money transactions among the people, and the objections in the Decalogue, to "theft," "falsehood," and "covetousness," with "superstition," "disobedience," and "murder," appear to indicate that such practices mutually tend to sustain each other.

The value of these ancient records of the Hebrews has been recognized through long ages, by all who respect "truth" and "knowledge," upon which foundation this carefully preserved relic of the history, science, arts, and morals *of life* has been erected for our instruction, and daily becomes more intelligible to the understanding of man, by various accessions of practical knowledge.

The custom of impressing letters and important publications upon clay, stone, alabaster, terra-cotta, mortar, or cement, was one common to many ancient nations, as well as the processes of writing and painting upon skins and parchment, upon leaves, barks, and papyrus, or paper, or upon walls prepared for the purpose. "The ten commandments of the Hebrews" are represented as having been written or graven "upon both sides of two tables (tablets?) of stone, which Moses carried in his two hands." These were easily broken when cast down, in his anger, at the idolatry of the people. Did Moses employ brick, or tile, for stone, — a practice mentioned elsewhere in the Scriptures, — or did he use tablets of alabaster, or terra-cotta, according to the most ancient method in Assyria, as related by Mr. Layard?

In the poetic language of his people, Moses was undoubtedly referred to as "the finger of God," upon this occasion; "Thunder," by a similar image of speech, being called in the Hebrew "the voice of God, thundering." Such interpretations are distinctly given in the occasional and natural references of the Hebrew writers.

The instructions to the people, in Deuteronomy, "to set up great stones, and to plaster them with plaster, and to write upon the stones" (thus plastered) "all the words of the law" (the ten commandments) "very plainly," afford us another reference to the *common mode of publica-*

tion peculiar to that age, and to the former associations of the Hebrews, for some of the most ancient pyramids in Egypt have been covered with cement, and are found inscribed in a similar manner. These still remain to teach us, if we will regard the lesson, how much more lasting and instructive is the "plain language" of the Hebrew, than the complex, involved, and imaginative figures of the Egyptian classic. When we regard the immense expenditures, annually augmenting, to advance men in the knowledge of the arts of life, which prevail in our age, and look back to the rapid progress in information which has been made within the last half-century, we need no longer wonder at the enormous temples, caves, and pyramids of our ancient age of civilization, nor doubt that such vestiges of ancient art and science were also originally intended "to perpetuate institutions" now forgotten in the land in which the ruins lie. J. H. G.

ART. VII. — MEMOIRS OF WILLIAM WORDSWORTH.*

MEMOIRS of Wordsworth these volumes are. They are not his Life. His Life is in his poems; and his poetry is not only the spirit he lived in, but also it is the record of his existence, of all the chief things he experienced, saw, learned, felt, or thought during eighty years. For to him the poetical was not simply a peculiar way of looking at matters, just as the humorous is an odd way, and pleasant for a minute or two. And then he was not merely a man that was somewhat poetical; he was wholly a poet. In wish, purpose, and manner of thought, in his daily employment, and in what he believed was his calling from on high, he was a poet. Poetry was the window he looked out at, the first thing in the morning; it was his business through the day, and it was something of the strain he prayed in, at night.

* *Memoirs of* WILLIAM WORDSWORTH, *Poet Laureate, D. C. L.* By CHRISTOPHER WORDSWORTH, D. D., Canon of Westminster. In two volumes. Edited by HENRY REED. Boston: Ticknor, Reed, & Fields. 1851. pp. 472, 518.

"He is no poet at all," say some persons. "And the principles which he wrote on are false." "Lord Byron was right against him," say others. While some readers point to lines, here and there, and even to whole pages, and ask triumphantly, "Is this poetry?" To all this, and to all the many objections that may be started against our estimate of Wordsworth, we shall simply answer, "Some way or other, Wordsworth is a poet, and a great poet. And if he is not great one way, then he is great some other better way, for he is great."

Such various estimates as there have been of Wordsworth's poetry! Sir James Mackintosh said, "Wordsworth is not a great poet, but he is the greatest man among poets." And Wordsworth's brother, Dr. Christopher, asked, "In diction, in nature, in grace, in truth, in variety, in purity, in philosophy, in morals, in piety, does he not surpass all our writers?"

From among divines, philosophers, and poets, the very highest testimony is to be gathered as to Wordsworth. Channing estimates him very highly, and so did Dr. Arnold. And Mr. Ruskin thinks him to be the great poetic landscape-painter of the age. On the Mount of Excellence, they stand above the world, some high, and some very high, — Coleridge the wondrous mystic, — Southey the unwearied scholar with his poetic eyes, — Tennyson with his quick, his Greek sense of the beautiful, — Talfourd the dramatist, — Keble in whom the poet and the divine blend in one, — Bryant, Dana, Felicia Hemans. And these, all standing in their honorable places, look up above, towards Wordsworth, and say, "He is higher, much, than we. He is very high."

William Wordsworth was born in the year 1770, at Cockermouth, in Cumberland. His grandfather was a native of Yorkshire. And in that county, at Silkstone, in the Wapentake (Weapontake) of Staincross, the name of Wordsworth is ancient. It occurs frequently in old deeds, and in the parish register of Silkstone, though variously spelt, — as Wadysworth, Wordysworth, Wardesworth, Wordsworth. There was presented to the poet, by his friend Colonel Beaumont, an old piece of furniture called an almery, on which was carved a Latin inscription, to this effect: "This work was executed in the year of our Lord 1525, at the cost of William Wordes-

worth, the son of William, who was the son of John, who was the son of William, who was the son of Nicholas, the husband of Elizabeth, the daughter and heiress of William Proctor, of Penyston. On whose souls may the Lord have mercy."

Wordsworth lost his mother when he was eight years old, and his father when he was thirteen. So that of maternal influence there survived to him, in later years, almost only such as what began to him from the time

> "In which, a babe, by intercourse of touch
> He held mute dialogues with his mother's heart."

As a youth, he was a little wilful and wayward. Perhaps he was so from his having been an orphan, from his having had no father's rightful authority to bow to, and no mother's love to soften with.

In his eighteenth year, he became a resident of St. John's College, Cambridge. There he was not very successful as a student, nor much interested. He appears to have been dissatisfied with the University, and with the nature of his studies, and not to have been altogether happy in himself. No doubt, in his time, the University was not a place to look well in the eyes of any earnest man. Yet perhaps to the end of his life Wordsworth was the worse for having failed of such mental discipline as he might and ought to have attained to, at his University, from its studies and its better men. He passed four years at Cambridge, without much profit or comfort; and then he left it, being a Bachelor of Arts, and twenty-one years of age. And if this was not all he was at that time, yet it was very nearly all he seemed. He was without a fortune, and without a profession, and apparently without much inclination or aptitude for business of any kind. Quite pure in character, altogether unpolluted by any of the debaucheries of Cambridge, earnest and meditative, but also independent in a way that seemed wilful, poor in property and prospects, and uncertain about what profession to adopt,—this was Wordsworth at twenty-one.

He was a poet; but, as a young man, he was not quite sure of it. There was in him a heart greater than he himself knew, or than his friends could well understand. To his eyes, as a poet, the world looked not

quite as it did to other people. And so, having to walk by his own eyesight, his way in the world seemed eccentric. He had wants, thoughts, wishes, feelings, likings and dislikes, different from what his friends had. And so he was strange to them. And while they thought him irresolute, and perhaps indolent, he felt himself called to, he hardly well knew what. At that time, if his mother had been living, it would probably have been very different with him. For with her love he would have grown more clear in his mind, and more decided in his aims, and would have been more readily reconciled to the untoward things of life.

He thought of adopting the profession of the law; but he judged that he had not either money or strength enough to succeed in it. By education he was qualified to be a clergyman; but he shrunk so much from the Church as connected with the state, that finally he determined to forego the Established Church and its golden offers, and endeavor to live by writing for some London newspaper. But while he was seeking some engagement with the newspaper press, a young man of his acquaintance died, and left him his fortune as a legacy, in the belief, that, with a life of leisure, William Wordsworth was capable of becoming a great author.

Wordsworth returned to Westmoreland to live, not till ten years after his leaving college. During that time he resided in France, at Crewkerne in Dorsetshire, at Alfoxden in Somersetshire, and at Goslar in Germany. It was about the year 1800, that he took up his abode at Grasmere, two miles from Rydal Mount, to which he afterwards removed.

But these ten years, what a time they had been for him mentally, — years of study, despised authorship, foreign travel, and experience of the French Revolution! They were years his whole nature was distinctly marked with, all his life after, for good and ill. They were the way by which, of a Radical, he became a Tory. There is many an inconsistency in Wordsworth's sentiments and conduct, of which these years are the explanation. From having had as a student no honor whatever for the University of Cambridge, he came to feel himself most highly honored in being admitted to Oxford. From having fancied the French Revolution was the cause of

heaven, he came to dread the sober and almost dignified movements of the Anti-Corn-Law League. From having thought that socially almost every thing was wrong in England, he came to hold that every thing was right, and even the gallows poetical. From having wished every peasant a share in the government of the country, he came to wish him ignorant of all learning but the Bible. And from having been an avowed republican, he became the Poet Laureate of the English monarch. So different he was in his manhood from what it seemed he would have become in his youth. Instead of the poet of progress, he became the poet of quiet, and instead of political reform, household order everywhere became his effort and prayer.

Very much it was from what he learned as a politician, that he became the spiritual poet that he was. He lived in France twelve months. He landed there in the month on which the National Assembly met. He was there during the September massacres. At Paris he attended the club of the Jacobins, and he picked up a stone as a memorial, from the ruins of the Bastile. And like a genuine Frenchman, he called himself a patriot.

> "Bliss was it in that dawn to be alive,
> But to be young was very heaven."

With the monarchy and the aristocracy, all oppression and wrong were certainly to cease. With republicanism there would be no sin anywhere, nor any temptation to it, but only and universally virtue; while everywhere there would be plenty and pleasure. Along with the wickedness of aristocracy, it was almost thought the mortality of man might cease. And very confidently it was expected that the millennium would begin from France. Wordsworth shared these expectations in all their grandeur and folly, — in their generosity and their emptiness, — in their fancied wisdom and their real delusiveness, — in the bright dawn they looked like, and the horrid night they turned to. His whole heart, his highest and most confident expectations, his holiest hopes, were in a social movement that seemed pure, just, and loving, but which ended apparently in worshipping the goddess of Reason, and incessantly working the guillotine.

For years after his return from France, he was haunted every night with dreams of carnage and executions. There were Englishmen who could scarcely be said ever to have smiled again, after having heard of the September massacres in France. Wordsworth's experience was like what made many an enthusiast of his age doubt God, and disbelieve the existence of virtue, and despair of the human race, and almost feel as though the grave were the only worthy certainty of man.

In consequence of his revolutionary experiences, Wordsworth became timidly, and almost absurdly, afraid of change. But in extenuation of his unreasonable conservatism let it be remembered, that he had once sympathized as a friend with the republican General Beaupuis, that he had hoped along with Madame Roland, and had known Robespierre; and that he had looked to see an altar rise for the French nation to worship at freely, and lo! in their midst there had been reared the guillotine. But as another, better effect of his frustrated expectations in regard to France, he came to think more of spiritual instincts than of political principles, and to value quiet more highly than excitement, and to know of God's agency among willing men, as being infinitely more efficacious for good than are the best contrivances of statesmanship.

Wordsworth was in his thirtieth year when he began his abode among the Lakes, where he resided afterwards full fifty years. And excepting what he accomplished as a poet, the chief events of all these years were his marriage, his becoming a father, his losing now and then a friend or a child by death, his making an occasional tour in Scotland or on the Continent, his visiting London sometimes, and his being created Poet Laureate.

His life was very largely that of the affections, and so was his philosophy. And so it was singularly fortunate for him that he had such a happy home as he had, and such friends as he had. He was married in 1802. His wife must have been a true woman. Forty years after their marriage, a friend remarked on Wordsworth's way of speaking to his wife, as being quite different from the tone of his usual conversation, — very sweet and warm, but delicate and reserved. It was of her that he wrote the stanzas of which the following are two: —

"I saw her upon nearer view,
A Spirit, yet a Woman too!
Her household motions light and free,
And steps of virgin-liberty;
A countenance in which did meet
Sweet records, promises as sweet:
A creature not too bright or good
For human nature's daily food;
For transient sorrows, simple wiles,
Praise, blame, love, kisses, tears, and smiles.

"And now I see, with eyes serene,
The very pulse of the machine;
A being breathing thoughtful breath,
A traveller between life and death;
The reason firm, the temperate will,
Endurance, foresight, strength, and skill:
A perfect Woman, nobly planned,
To warn, to comfort, and command;
And yet a Spirit still and bright,
With something of angelic light."

There is a poem of Wordsworth's, the subject of which is the recollection of a scene, in which once he suddenly noticed that the shore, from the lake up among the trees, was all covered with daffodils, glancing with the wind and sunshine.

"For oft, when on my couch I lie
In vacant or in pensive mood,
They flash upon that inward eye
Which is the bliss of solitude;
And then my heart with pleasure fills,
And dances with the daffodils."

The couplet in Italics are Mary Wordsworth's lines, and they betoken her to have been a woman that was truly "a help meet" for her husband, a great man and a poet though he was.

His sister Dorothy lived with him through his life. She was herself a poetess; and while her brother was a youth, and after his leaving Cambridge, she had a great and happy influence over him. She drew him from politics to poetry; and she sustained for him his courage amid the many disappointments and mortifications of his early life.

> "She, in the midst of all, preserved him still
> A Poet; made him seek, beneath that name,
> And that alone, his office upon earth."

Coleridge and Southey were among Wordsworth's intimate friends. And so was Sir George Beaumont, who was said by Sir Walter Scott to have been the most sensible and pleasing man he had ever known. Others of Wordsworth's friends were the family of the Earl of Lonsdale, Sir Walter Scott, Charles Lamb and his sister Mary, Samuel Rogers, Felicia Hemans, and Joanna Baillie: and most of them were, in his own words,

> "Meek women, men as true and brave
> As ever went to a hopeful grave."

For his dwelling-place, Wordsworth had a spot that was both sweet and sublime. It was no long way from the lake of Windermere, and with woods and luxuriant valleys very near, and with mountains in sight, — Loughrigg and Wansfell. And here he lived; in his meditations and walks

> "Haunted for ever by the Eternal Mind";

yet busy with daily work, and alive to all the occurrences of his neighborhood,

> "And drinking from the well of common life,"

and finding — what is the sweetest, and also perhaps the rarest, of all sweet experiences —

> "a serene delight
> In closelier gathering cares, such as become
> A human creature, howsoe'er endowed."

He had known something of the education which colleges can give; he had acquired not a little of the information which is gained by travelling; and he had shared in the greatest mental excitement the world had ever yielded. But at his home in Westmoreland he learned himself, and he taught others, what he wished that rulers too should know, that

> "Wisdom doth live with children round her knees:
> Books, leisure, perfect freedom, and the talk
> Man holds with week-day man in the hourly walk

Of the mind's business: these are the degrees
By which true sway doth mount."

A wanderer as he had been, despised so long, disappointed so often, and then become so happy at the lakes, he used to wonder,—

"How strange that all
The terrors, pains, and early miseries,
Regrets, vexations, lassitudes interfused
Within my mind, should e'er have borne a part,
And that a needful part, in making up
That calm existence that is mine, when I
Am worthy of myself!"

As a youth, he had known what those clouds over the soul are that are the beginnings of the darkness of unbelief. And he had had befall him events more wretched than what the Divine goodness could easily be felt in. But as a man he attained to

"that blessed mood
In which the burden of the mystery,
In which the heavy and the weary weight
Of all this unintelligible world,
Is lightened."

And sometimes, of an evening, very blessed was the peace he felt, and very beautiful the holiness of his prayer.

"Teach me with quick-eared spirit to rejoice
In admonitions of Thy softest voice!
Whate'er the path these mortal feet may trace,
Breathe through my soul the blessing of Thy grace,
Glad, through a perfect love, a faith sincere,
Drawn from the wisdom that begins with fear:
Glad to expand, and, for a season free
From finite cares, to rest absorbed in Thee!"

At one time a student with fellow-students at Cambridge, at another time a dweller in London, and for a whole awful year a revolutionist in France, and then at last become a recluse among lakes and mountains, he knew of his own wide experience, what he taught, that as souls

> "We live by admiration, hope, and love.
> And even as these are well and wisely fixed,
> In dignity of being we ascend."

Being of the nature he was, and living the life he did, and with such a wife and family and friends as he had, it is no wonder that, now in one way, and now in another, he explained and taught and urged, —

> "O, 't is the heart that magnifies this life,
> Making a truth and beauty of her own."

Some of his opinions, that people were rather surprised by, originated in his anxiety that among social arrangements there should be large scope left for the affections. He was unwilling that a ragged mendicant should be suppressed and locked up in a comfortable poor-house, because he was so useful among the dalesmen, in drawing out their sympathies, as he went begging from house to house. He disliked that young children should be instructed in infant-schools, if in those schools they were to be secluded from their parents for six or eight consecutive hours in the day. For he judged it better a little child should simply grow in its mother's eye, than learn ever so much quite away from her.

A spiritualist in philosophy, and a poet in character and work, — this was Wordsworth at the lakes; earnest, too, and simple, affectionate and religious. As a poet, he proposed to himself not to amuse men, but to quicken for them the life of the soul, — to make them feel how wholesome quiet is, and yet how earnest it may also be, — to acquaint them with the beauty of every-day life, and the sweetness there is in common things, even as being common, — to open their eyes to a look, a meaning, there is in nature, that is divine, and quite other than what the eagle knows of, with his wide vision, — to inspire them, as his fellow-creatures, with confidence in the ways of the soul, and what they lead to, — and to make them specially attentive and trustful to those movements of the spirit that begin from God.

As it seems to us, the most distinctive of the characteristics of Wordsworth is what in its several manifestations is earnestness, simplicity, and sincerity. It is a quality that appears in his style as a writer, and in his use of words, — in the truthfulness of his sentiments, —

in the exactness of his descriptions of nature, — and in his choice of subjects as a poet. He denominates a small house a cottage, and not a rustic hall, as it used to be called in poetry. A nightingale he calls a nightingale, and not Philomel, as it once was. He early noticed that there were thousands of appearances in nature that had never been described at all in poetry, or else falsely so; and so he resolved to see nature with his own eyes, and to describe it in his own words. It seemed to him that often an inverted style, along with tumid phraseology, was substituted for real poetry; and so he determined himself to write as simply as he could. Then also it appeared to him, that it was a cheap, false, unprofitable way to poetic effect, to attempt it by means of subjects chosen as being odd, or marvellous, or splendid; and so he selected as subjects for poetry the things of daily life, occurrences among his neighbors, and those feelings that are commonest among men. For he was persuaded that poetry at its truest can sing better to a real child playing with flowers, than to an invisible and unapproachable monarch, crowned and robed and factitious, with nations for playthings. Only those ways and words and things would do for Wordsworth which he could be earnest with, and with which he could be simple and sincere.

In regard to his style, Wordsworth was right in forming it by the language of common life. Perhaps in this he was prompted chiefly by motives of simplicity and sincerity. And yet there was a wisdom in it, greater perhaps than philosophy yet knows of. Style, — O the mystery and the magic of it! As a subject, it is little understood. And so it is no wonder, the nonsense that has been talked about it. "Study the classics; for they are the models of style," says one man. "Read," says another, "read Jeremy Taylor, and Pope, and Robertson, and the great masters of English." While another advises, "If you want a tasteful style, read French." If you want to be graceful, move your limbs, and carry yourself, and smile, like some model of a man. Do it; and you will look ridiculous even in the eyes of your counsellor. And if in his understanding there were any eyes, your style of writing also would be ridiculous to him, were it really formed in the way he means, —

through Robertson, Pope, and Jeremy Taylor, or by the study of the classics, or by a taste for Voltaire.

Every language that is not a mere jargon has a style of its own, — a soul, a genius pervading it, — by which certain idioms are right, and certain others are not right, and by which, even in the adoption of foreign words, some are preferable to others, as being more easily assimilated. Indeed, it is so that every language has a genius of its own, growing out of sources mysterious, though, no doubt, the same that our souls themselves begin from. There are certain idioms that are universal on the lips of children, and that come from them in speech, apparently from some cause as universal as what their minds grow by. Now in the character of these idioms there is something that is more than chance, or than the mere effect of imitation. And it is what language is made vital by, and effective and lasting.

Between simplicity of style and truth of sentiment there is a greater connection in writing than is often thought. The affections refuse to speak Latin now. And if an Anglo-Saxon writes in a Latinized style instead of English, he writes what the feelings do not speak in, what there is no soul in. Though often this is what neither the writer nor the reader knows; for, uttered in hard words and inverted sentences and awkward constructions, most persons will accept for profound truth what they would laugh at, as empty truisms, if a child should speak it simply. But the language of common life is what nonsense cannot be talked in well; while also it is what is most expressive for wisdom and the soul. The language of common life, — it is the language of earnest; it is what passion speaks in, and love talks with; it is what hope, and surprise, and wonder make use of; it is what the truthfulness of childhood talks with, and what man, in his agony, cries, and pleads, and prays in.

It may be thought that a style derived from conversation is a way of writing that is more easy than scholarly. But it is not so. It is not easy at all, but hard, very hard. And for success in it there is needed such a multitude of aids as might well make even Coleridge speak as he did of "the wonderfulness of prose." These remarks are true not of prose only, but also of style in poetry. No

doubt, Wordsworth is often very diffuse in expression, and indeed even tediously so sometimes, but he is never obscure; never otherwise than simple. Perhaps in style he is the most natural of all poets since Shakspeare. Since the time of Shakspeare, how many poems have been published, and been popular for a season, and then been dropped as unreadable from their style, while Shakspeare's language has been perennially good. And why has this been? It has been because, of all other poets, Shakspeare wrote most nearly as he spoke; because his poems are in the same kind of words with which he wooed Ann Hathaway, and because his dramas are in the same idiomatic English in which he used to tell tales to his schoolfellows, when he was a boy at Stratford grammar-school. O the goodness and the lastingness of this language of every-day life! It is by it, beyond any other poet of his age, that Wordsworth is likely to be immortal.

Said Wordsworth to Coleridge, when they were both of them young, and earnestly hoping to do good among men, —

> "Prophets of Nature, we to them will speak
> A lasting inspiration, sanctified
> By reason, blest by faith: what we have loved,
> Others will love, and we will teach them how;
> Instruct them how the mind of man becomes
> A thousand times more beautiful than the earth
> On which he dwells."

Imagination is a quality which no mind can be quite without, and be human. But of all rare manifestations of the mind, perhaps the rarest is creative imagination, — what new truth comes by, or new feeling begins from; though most people think it to be only a trick of the mind, and what might be as common as pen and ink, for any reason there is in nature to the contrary. But then to these persons poetry consists in extravagant metaphors, startling ejaculations, and in a manner that is like the behavior of a Frenchman in love or a rage. They have a taste for poetry, as they think, if in queer descriptions they can recognize what things are meant, as they read along the lines. And to them the pleasure of poetry is the same as what children have in talking jargon, and

dimly guessing one another's meaning. But, notwithstanding the common opinion, imagination as a creative faculty is one of the rarest endowments among men. For one Jeremy Taylor, there are ten thousand writers on religion; and there might be a million such poets as Robert Montgomery for one Wordsworth. His faculty of imagination Wordsworth regarded as a trust confided to him. And he believed, too, that in the imagination as a creative power there is a something of inspiration. This opinion was not a new thing in him; for it was even held in the Christian Church, at the time when philosophers first began to throng its doors, with their early, earnest faith. And certainly, as a faculty, the imagination has its beginning from that side of the soul by which the Holy Spirit approaches man.

His imaginative faculty Wordsworth regarded almost religiously, and as though it were an entrance opened for him into the holy of holies; and in his conduct through life he was faithful to the magnitude and conditions of it, as a trust. Creative imagination is a mysterious power. To a great extent, it is independent of the will of its possessor. It will not serve him with any thing like the readiness of his memory. And it is so very unlike the logical powers, which will yield their service to a man any time, on almost every subject, and which can be relied on as implicitly as the muscles. Nor is it at its owner's will, to use at the prompting of every motive. Almost always it refuses to work for money. It will lend its aid to passion, but not for long, and never its best. It will not assist a man in opinions in which he is not sincere. It is significantly named genius. It is a something that is with a man, and yet that is not wholly his. It is at its best with him only when he is himself at his sincerest. And it will last on with him only as the Holy Spirit does, by not being grieved.

No doubt, there are some things in the lives and works of men of genius that look otherwise than this. But they are really of that exceptional character that witnesses to the existence of a rule. Genius will inspire a man at the instance of truth, or love, or gratitude, or religion, or the cause of freedom. But it will not help him in his selfishness, nor directly even in his efforts for a living. Nor even in the most likely cause is it to be relied upon

implicitly for help, like any other mental power. It will not apostatize from party to party with a man, for popularity. It will not sing its best, as a song, for a publisher's munificent offer. It will not accompany an advocate into court to plead an unjust cause, for a fee. It will not ascend the pulpit with a preacher, to aid him in any statement of opinion, if he does not believe it with his whole soul. It absolutely refuses to be made money of, or to be worked like a servant. There are vices it will dwell with for a while; but they are not those of calculating selfishness. And with hypocrisy it will live not at all. A man may sin, and sin again, and his genius not fail him, if again and again agony and remorse and repentance follow on his crimes. But as soon as a man can sin and feel easy, his genius begins to disappear. It is essential for genius that the mind it dwells in be pervaded by sincerity, in its opinions, feelings, and processes of thought, in its relations to the conscience, and in its manner of expression. To all the conditions of genius as a trust, Wordsworth was faithful. He did not attempt to make money of it. He did not try to earn popularity with it. He did not torture it into profitable flattery of some lord or monarch. He lived purely; and so he had it for his companion, all his life long. And he was content to live a life of quiet, listening for it against it should speak. His manner of life was simple. The ways of it were what he could be sincere in, and feel with his whole soul. Poet as he was, he lived as a poet ought.

For poems, Wordsworth selected such subjects as he could himself be most earnest in, as an immortal being. The soul, with God to visit it, and with the heavens to overarch it, and with a horizon of mystery to circle it about, — life as it throbbed in his own heart, — the human spirit, as it evinced itself in the deeds, the tears, the smiles, the talk of his neighbors, — Nature, overspread at times with a meaning greater than herself, — life as it felt in the living, — these were the themes of Wordsworth. While Rogers sung of the Pleasures of Memory, and of what Italy was in the past, — and Scott told of how the world was poetic once, in the days of Marmion, and the Last Minstrel, and the Lady of the Lake, — and, with his books about him, Southey narrated, in his fluent way, the wonders of other ages and other climes, the voyage of

Madoc, and the Curse of Kehama, — and at his ease in a drawing-room Moore sang of pleasure heightened by sin, and of life made beauteous with mirrors all about, and with the light of wax-candles to see by, — while Coleridge, after having sung one heavenly hymn, one touching ballad, and the doom of an Ancient Mariner, stopped with a shock, in the midst of Christabel, and turned to the world to argue, talking from metaphysical heights to bewildered admirers below, — and Shelley retreated from among men to sing of a world grown happy without a God, though trembling himself all over the while, a believer spite of himself, and even afraid of the dark, — and Keats wrote Endymion and Hyperion, like an ancient Greek, with Hellas to him all revived again, with its heroes, its gods, and its beauty, — and Campbell, after having expressed the Pleasures of Hope, told, in touching words, the horrors of war across the sea, and in the Highlands; himself, though, blowing every now and then a martial note on the trumpet, that all England echoed with. Byron, indeed, like Wordsworth, sang his own experiences, though under other men's names, Juan's, Harold's, Manfred's. But what was egotism in Byron, that would rather be Satanic wickedness than nothing, was such a very different matter from the simplicity and earnestness by which Wordsworth, on singing, could sing only out of his own heart!

With the exception of the Ecclesiastical Sketches, and a few other pieces, all the poems of Wordsworth are written in his own name. In them are recorded, almost one by one, his changes of feeling between the cradle and the grave, — his objects of affection at home, and what sorrows came into his house, — his thoughts on public events, battles, revolutions, the abolition of the slave trade, and the triumphs of freedom, — his steps, wherever he went, whether through Scotland, or up the Rhine, or about France, or to London, or to the Yarrow, or along the banks of the Duddon or the Derwent, to Tintern Abbey, or to the Cathedral at Cologne, — the name of almost every rock, brook, and valley of his neighborhood, — the birds about his house, the nightingale, the red-breast, the lark, and the cuckoo, — the look of the daisy and the celandine, — the feelings that came over him, one evening, with the twilight; and how he felt,

another evening, at the sight of Venus, as an evening-star, — little incidents in the lives of the peasants about him, — the earth's changes with the round of the year, — the friends he had, and their character, and his losses in them, as, one by one, they most of them died before him.

In all things, he felt the presence of another world interfused through this. To his ear, there was in the wind a voice from farther away than either the East or the West. To his eye, there was in the broad daylight another splendor than what the sun shone with. And out of the humblest flower there would rise for him thoughts more tender even than tears. And to him, the soul, a mystery in itself, and, as under the influence of the Holy Spirit, a mystery of mysteries, — there was not a movement of it, even in a child or a peasant, but what argued there being another world about him, more real than this visible, earthly one. He was himself one of that spiritual class of whom he said, —

> "Them the enduring and the transient both
> Serve to exalt; they build up greatest things
> From least suggestions; ever on the watch,
> Willing to work and to be wrought upon."

He sees a daisy, and there is a hint in it against the foolish anxieties of man: —

> "But thou wouldst teach him how to find
> A shelter under every wind,
> A hope for times that are unkind,
> And every season."

Deep among the trees, he heard the stock-dove coo, and to his ear

> "He sang of love with quiet blending,
> Slow to begin and never ending."

He sees a picture of a gleaner, and he is reminded of them

> "Who, whether from their lowly bed
> They rise, or rest the weary head,
> Ponder the blessing they entreat
> From Heaven, and *feel* what they repeat,
> While they give utterance to the prayer
> That asks for daily bread."

He sings of the four seasons of the year, and ends with the hope, —

> "Such be our spring, our summer such;
> So may our autumn blend
> With hoary winter, and life touch,
> Through heaven-born hope, her end."

He notices a primrose growing in a handful of soil, on a rock, dying down every winter, but beautiful again every spring. And then he thinks, —

> "Sin-blighted though we are, we too,
> The reasoning sons of men
> From one oblivious winter called,
> Shall rise and breathe again;
> And in eternal summer lose
> Our threescore years and ten."

Looking up through the tree-tops, he has glimpses of another sky than what is the blue firmament, —

> "And while those lofty poplars gently wave
> Their tops, between them comes and goes a sky
> Bright as the glimpses of Eternity,
> To saints accorded in their mortal hour."

Himself he really did live, as he wished to have others live, —

> "the consciousness
> Of whom they are, habitually infused
> Through every image, and through every thought,
> And all affections by communion raised
> From earth to heaven, from human to divine."

Wordsworth quickens our souls into new feeling. Rare and precious effect! Sometimes, with his poet's hand, he touches our eyes, and we see things as they never looked before. And at other times he takes us up into a mount, next holy to that of the Transfiguration, and beneath us, and about us, all things are to be seen beauteous and altered and hopeful in the light of immortality. O the newness of life there is in his words, some of them! Purified with his expressions, love grows to be calm, and what feels eternal. Little trials and little cares grow sweet, with his wording of them. The dusty ways of common life, with his speaking of them, grow to feel like those that lead about Mount Lebanon, or that have

Carmel in sight. With his description, poverty is sanctified and thereby lightened; and duty is hallowed, and becomes what the soul can walk with in immortal strength. With his temper to learn in, reason becomes so sanctified, it feels like faith; and faith feels but like reason at its highest. With his prayers, some of them, to read, our own hearts grow more believing, and fitter for effectual fervent prayer. And with him for interpreter, as distinctly almost as in the times of the psalmists, the seas have great voices of praise, and sun, moon, and stars are to be heard worshipping God. With Wordsworth's help, we grow to be better believers than we were.

It was a happy phrase of Wordsworth's, — "exquisite regard for common things." And in making it one of his doctrines, he has rendered men a service that will be increasingly important. The more artificial some of the ways of life become, the more needful will it be to feel and to relish the simplicity of those ways that never change. And often Wordsworth, with his poetry, makes this simplicity be beautiful beyond the beauty of the most refined luxury. He makes it be what the most fastidious can love. And in doing this he renders a service that will be the greater the more useful shall become the results that science yields, so mighty at its work, and yet so delicate, — and the more beauteous the decorations for city and home that art shall elaborate, — and the more copiously they shall be brought for our use, the products of the land and the sea, luxuries from interior Asia, and the islands of the South Sea, from the busy workshops of Europe, and from afar down rivers that as yet are flowing in unknown channels, the Amazon, the Nile, and the Niger.

By the help of science and art, man may beautify his outward life. But for this what is he the better, if inwardly his life remains the same? A house better built, more commodious, splendid with the skill of science, luxurious with articles from a hundred countries in the East and the West, the North and the South, — what does it avail, if the dweller inside it be the same man he was? Refinements in furniture, food, and clothes are not what the soul is refined with. Nay, with more luxurious living, and with refinements even in speech and customs, the soul may grow more corrupt. For the feel-

ing of refinement may grow to be that of outward life only. It did become so among the ancient Greeks. With them every thing outwardly was refined to this beauty, in language, manners, buildings, and dress, while inwardly with them there was that grossness which St. Paul writes of. In view of this danger, and as corrective of a taste vitiated by luxury, the poetry of Wordsworth is of great and seasonable service.

By his poetry, Wordsworth is a benefactor of society in a way, apart from which art is sorrowful, and wealth is poor, and science almost worthless. For what would it be the better for man, though the cup of life were golden for him to drink from, and though it were wrought into a form graceful as a Grecian vase, if in the cup there were the same mortal mixture, and tasting none the more of immortal hope? And what though all life were made smooth as a path, for a man to walk on; and what though the tomb, at the end, were to become a mausoleum for this dead body to lie in grandly; and what though the coffin be made air-tight, and what corruption will not reach into, for ages; if while living he feel himself none the less earthy, and if, while walking it along, the way of this mortal life feel to him none the more surely immortal in its direction?

With Wordsworth, his imagination was very largely a corrective of the materialist and utilitarian character of his times. Love and worship were such very different things to him from what they were to Jeremy Bentham, or in Mill's Analysis of the Human Mind!

Does it appear to any one as though in this essay too much had been claimed for the imagination as a faculty? Yet it is not so. Perhaps an anecdote will best serve to demonstrate its excellence as a power.

Fifty years ago, it was proposed to sell the Parks of London, because of their having become so valuable as lands for building on. The proposal was debated in Parliament, and would certainly have gone into effect, but for a phrase of Burke's. Speeches were made against it, by practised and popular speakers, — men of round voices and round sentences. Philanthropists pleaded that the Parks should be maintained for the sake of salubrity. Others hoped they might be spared, because their ornamental character was essential to the completeness

of a city like London. Some others represented, that they were very desirable as places where persons might resort for change and recreation. But in spite of all these pleas, and in spite of other things, too, which orators said and tried to say, the Parks would have been sold, for the sake of the immense sums which they would have brought to the public treasury, only that they were saved by what every body felt the meaning of, so plain, and pathetic, and yet grand, — a name which Burke called them, — "the lungs of London." That one phrase of genius availed more than twenty orators of Parliament. It drew public opinion to itself. It is now what the Parks exist by, — green, and beautiful, and healthy, and the delight of millions of people.

This is only an instance of the smaller services which the imagination yields. Yet it will serve to illustrate the general statement, that it is only with the help of the imagination that new truth gets access to the heart, or entrance into common life.

By Wordsworth, there is a higher and holier understanding of life and nature than there would have been but for him. And very largely by him the world's best teachers are taught, — divines, and poets, and philosophers, — though his influence as yet is hardly more than beginning. O, how slow it was to commence! It will be long memorable, — the way Wordsworth was received by the world. Even up to the end of his life, he can hardly be said to have been popular. In the first half of his life William Hayley was Poet Laureate, and in the latter part of his life Robert Montgomery was the popular poet.

In the Memoirs of Wordsworth there is one blemish; and that is the presence of about one hundred and fifty lines by Robert Montgomery. They are printed by the biographer, who says he was favored with them by the author. Such tawdry verbiage as they are! But then, to be sure, Robert Montgomery is the more popular poet of the two. And so his lines on Wordsworth may have been accepted by the biographer, as some kind of a testimonial to his uncle. Some seven years ago, it was advertised all over London, that of Robert Montgomery's Satan, and kindred poems, in ten years, three times as many editions had been sold as of Wordsworth in forty

years. A proceeding this which ought to have revolted from Robert Montgomery even the wife of his bosom! Yet it did not much revolt the public, and apparently Wordsworth's biographer not at all.

Even as late as 1833, of a new volume of Wordsworth's Poems there was probably not a single copy purchased in the whole county of Cumberland. Of what poems he had published when he was twenty-eight years of age, Longman, the publisher, once gave away the copyright, as a thing of no value. And at a time when Crabbe had made an easy fortune by his Tales of the Hall, Parish Register, and Borough, Wordsworth for his works had received almost nothing.

In the Edinburgh Review there were quoted for ridicule forty of the finest lines of the ode, the subject of which is Intimations of Immortality, from Recollections of Early Childhood. It is a poem in which Wordsworth writes in the spirit of the doctrine of the preëxistence of souls. For a time, and for poetical effect, he is a Platonist; and believes that

> "Our birth is but a sleep and a forgetting:
> The soul that rises with us, our life's star,
> Hath had elsewhere its setting,
> And cometh from afar.
> Not in entire forgetfulness,
> And not in utter nakedness,
> But trailing clouds of glory do we come
> From God, who is our home."

The whole ode is perfect. From the first line to the last, it is excellent. And at times there breathes in it an inspiration almost higher than that of genius. But of this great, grand composition, the following lines were quoted as being bad: —

> "O joy! that in our embers
> Is something that doth live,
> That nature yet remembers
> What was so fugitive!
> The thought of our past years in me doth breed
> Perpetual benediction: not indeed
> For that which is most worthy to be blest;
> Delight and liberty, the simple creed
> Of childhood, whether busy or at rest,
> With new-fledged hope still fluttering in his breast; —

Not for these I raise
The song of thanks and praise:
But for those obstinate questionings
Of sense and outward things,
Fallings from us, vanishings;
Blank misgivings of a creature
Moving about in worlds not realized:
High instincts, before which our mortal nature
Did tremble, like a guilty thing surprised:
But for those first affections,
Those shadowy recollections,
Which, be they what they may,
Are yet the fountain-light of all our day,
Are yet a master light of all our seeing:
Uphold us, cherish, and have power to make
Our noisy years seem moments in the being
Of the eternal silence: truths that wake,
To perish never:
Which neither listlessness nor mad endeavor,
Nor man nor boy,
Nor all that is at enmity with joy,
Can utterly abolish or destroy!
Hence in a season of calm weather,
Though inland far we be,
Our souls have sight of that immortal sea
Which brought us hither,
Can in a moment travel thither,
And see the children sport upon the shore,
And hear the mighty waters rolling evermore."

For the ode itself, there was not in the Edinburgh Review one word of praise; and the preceding lines from it were quoted as simply being ridiculous. The popular Reviewer! There was revealed to him the very beauty of holiness; and he saw it only to laugh at it. It was not one class only, but all classes in England, that rejected Wordsworth as a poet. O the scorn Wordsworth was to Episcopalian rectors, rich with tithe and glebe-land and oppression! And O the strange ignorance of his name there was among the orthodox! And, no doubt, it was not without some reference to Wordsworth, that Coleridge recorded his pain at the repugnance of English Unitarians to manifestations of the imaginative power.

Wordsworth was himself as noble as his poetry. Rightly understood, his Memoirs are a poem to read.

Among the public men of this century, perhaps there has been none more heroic in life than our author, — than Wordsworth, courageously waiting his time, though far off, — quite content to forego wealth, so he might live faithfully by his genius, — careless of the praise of men, from feeling himself stand so full in the eye of God, — conscious of his right to Hayley's laurels, and to payment better than what Crabbe received, or than Scott was enriched with, yet not embittered with ill-fortune, but calm and cheerful, — ridiculed by Byron, one of his earliest and greatest debtors, abused by hostile politicians, hindered by unworthy critics, misunderstood, neglected, yet patient and magnanimous, — meanly esteemed, yet writing in the spirit of a future, wiser age, — almost universally despised, yet over fields as wide as the English language sowing the world with seeds of good.

Remember what Wordsworth was in himself, and what the age was he lived in: and then he is sublime to think of. A man of such gentleness, and such endurance! A man reviled as darkling, while living in a light exceeding that of the sun. Wordsworth singing that Ode on Immortality to scornful men! — almost it is what ranks him among martyrs, even those of the early Church, that died for the Holy Spirit that was in them.

And now it is over, — his life and his work. And a soul like his, — let us hope it will never long be wanting in a season of necessity, — a spirit, that holds itself independent of the world that it is appointed to lead. Now, in his own words, let us say of the poet himself, what is so true, —

> "Thou hast left behind
> Powers that will work for thee: air, earth, and skies:
> There 's not a breathing of the common wind
> That will forget thee. Thou hast great allies.
> Thy friends are exultations, agonies,
> And love and man's unconquerable mind."

So peculiarly and so exactly true! There are no other fitter words than these to end with, now!

W. M.

NOTICES OF RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

Christian Aspects of Faith and Duty. Discourses by JOHN JAMES TAYLER, B. A. London: John Chapman. 1851. 8vo. pp. 346.

OUR readers will need no introduction to the author of "A Retrospect of the Religious Life of England." In the volume before us, Mr. Tayler well sustains a most worthy reputation, and gives fresh assurance of being an enlightened and genial thinker, an accomplished scholar and writer, and an earnest Christian. The discourses, twenty in number, are exceedingly fresh and attractive, as well as able, discussions of the great problems of human life as seen under the light of Christianity, not according to by-gone aspects, but as they are presented to serious-minded persons in our times. Following the leading of the great Sermon on the Mount, the volume opens with an admirable discourse upon the "Spiritual Hunger and Thirst," that sense of spiritual and moral want, which the Gospel almost presupposes, and to which it ministers. Two following discourses illustrate, on the one hand, the approach of the soul to the Heavenly Father, the Source of help, and on the other hand, the drawing near of the Heavenly Father to his needy children on the earth. Then, in succeeding sermons, we read of the Mediator between God and men, of the "Harmony of the Divine and Human in Christ," of "The Distinctive and Permanent in Christianity," and of "The Footsteps of Christ." Through the remainder of the volume, the author pursues his great subject into various applications, relating, with three exceptions, viz. the discourses on "The True Expression of Human Brotherhood," "More Justice and Less Charity," and "Retrospect and Anticipation," rather to the inward than to the outward life. "Faith the Assurance of the Soul," "The Blessing of Sorrow," and "The Simplicity of the Heart," especially commended themselves to us as timely and wise and beautifully practical sermons, adapted in the main to the unlearned, as well as to the Christian scholar. The references scattered through the volume to various difficult social questions of the day are distinguished by a wise and most Christian humanity, as far removed from a cast-iron conservatism as from a crude and rabid radicalism. We wish to do the fullest justice to the merits of these sermons, for the truth's sake, and also because, contrary to our wishes, we must take some exceptions to their matter and manner. We would repeat that the

volume is characterized throughout by the tokens of a large and rich mind, profoundly penetrated by the spirit of Christianity. The preacher is no mere intellectualist or sentimentalist or rhapsodist, but one in whose culture the powers joined by God have not been separated; he is the slave of no party, not even of the liberal party. To use his own phraseology, he has shared the gifts at once of the prophet and of the philosopher; he is a believing and a discerning man, and, if he has erred in his search after the truth, is at least in the way to find it, because he is honest and earnest. No one can read these discourses without experiencing a pure and profitable pleasure. Nevertheless, with all deference to the reverend author, we must add to our admiring language a few words of criticism.

To the reverential, trusting Christian spirit of the sermons we would bear most willing and unqualified testimony, and yet from the doctrine of Jesus, as Mr. Tayler unfolds it, we must emphatically dissent. The author distinctly recognizes the supernatural element in our Saviour's being and life, and refuses to call him a *mere* man, but, on the other hand, he limits the indwelling of the Divine in the human far more than the facts or the philosophy of the case demand. In his view, the Lord is eminently the prophet of the race, endowed with the wisdom of the conscience and the affections to a transcendent degree, and yet not illumined beyond the measure of his times upon matters of science, &c., but sharing the local and national opinions. We suppose that in these opinions would be included the persuasions with reference to Satan, demoniacal possession, and the like. Now we can sympathize with the positive portion of this doctrine, but not with its stated or implied negations. Our view of the mysterious being of Jesus will not allow us to set bounds to his knowledge save where he has set them himself, and if it can be shown of any opinion that our Saviour entertained it, then, with our present light, we must say, it is more likely that we are in error if we hold it to be incredible, than that he was mistaken. Our present limits will not permit us to pursue a question which claims a volume for its discussion, but we have felt bound at least to record this objection.

Again, we gather from Mr. Tayler's pages, that, although he accepts the miracles of the Gospel, he makes little use of them as an aid to faith. This is far better than the hasty rationalism which, by rejecting them, entirely destroys, beyond all remedy, the integrity of the record, and breaks up the continuous thread of Gospel history into useless and disjointed bits, which we shall vainly try to weave again into a whole. But this view of the miracles is an unwise and unnecessary concession to the narrow, sceptical mind of our time, to a dogmatical incredulity which is

farther astray and more one-sided than the old superstition to which we fancy ourselves superior. On the whole, we do not believe that one can enter very deeply into the rationalistic spirit of the day, and at the same time be just to Christianity, as a "Word which came to us, and did not go out from us," which was attended by peculiar outward circumstances, and which must shape us, and not we it.

And yet again we must notice a want of a certain plainness, both in manner and matter, which must render these discourses less serviceable than could be desired to the less educated. They are occupied with questions which are trying the foremost minds of the day, and may be read by the scholar, or by any intelligent, reading man, with great profit. But we are sure that the great mass of our congregations, after hearing such sermons, would be obliged to confess that their humbler questions had not been met, and that their more homely wants had not been satisfied. At least they would need to read and study what they could only hear. The unresponsive eye too often shows that the preacher has overrated his congregation, and has not distinguished as he should between the dissertation and the plain sermon to the people, the harmonious development of his own thoughts and the attempt to present for the common uses of life the results and fruits rather than the processes of study. It is wrong, however, for us to make this complaint, since if, by chance, any one of Mr. Tayler's hearers has suffered in this particular, we have been the gainers a hundredfold.

Synopsis Evangelica ex quatuor Evangeliis ordine Chronologico concinnavit, prætexto brevi Commentario illustravit, ad Antiquos Testes apposito Apparatu Critico recensuit Constantinus Tischendorf. Lipsiæ. 1851. pp. lxvi. and 202.

This Synopsis Evangelica, or Harmony of the Gospels, according to the appellation given in England and this country to a work of this kind, is a production which we have long desired to see, because it arranges the events of the life of Christ according to the Tripaschal hypothesis, or the supposition that the ministry of our Saviour was somewhat more than two years in duration. It has always appeared to us that the Harmony of Dr. Carpenter, which has been in general use among Unitarians, according to the Bipaschal hypothesis, which makes the duration of our Saviour's ministry but little more than one year, does violence to the Gospel of John. All the ingenuity of Dr. Carpenter has failed to convince us that the transpositions which his theory obliges him to make in the arrangement of that Gospel are allowable.

We believe that John states, and meant to state, that in our Lord's ministry there were three Passovers.

On the other hand, the Quadripaschal theory of Archbishop Newcome and Dr. Robinson, which has been most commonly received in this country, appears to us to ascribe a longer duration to our Saviour's ministry than is authorized by the Gospel of John. The objections to regarding John v. 1 as referring to a passover appear to us conclusive against the supposition.

Whether, however, the Tripaschal hypothesis be well founded or not, all scholars who are interested in the subject will be glad to see a work of learning and ability, in which the Gospel narratives are arranged on that plan. We have thus works easily accessible, viz. Dr. Carpenter's, Dr. Robinson's, and this of Tischendorf, on the three different hypotheses, the Bipaschal, the Quadripaschal, and the Tripaschal, which will enable theological students and others to study the subject with greater advantage than heretofore.

Tischendorf has prepared his Harmony according to the text of his critical edition of the New Testament, accompanied with its critical apparatus. He has also prefixed to it a list of the principal writers, ancient and modern, who have undertaken to write harmonies of the Gospels, a view of the principles on which his own work is constructed, and various remarks, illustrating the different questions which arise in relation to the subject throughout the Gospels.

It is not our purpose to examine the manner in which he has performed his work. Several things have occurred to us in a cursory perusal, in which our judgment differs from his. But the work is one of learning and ability, and, as we have intimated, gives the arrangement of the events of our Saviour's ministry according to the period of its duration best sanctioned by history. In regard to the religious benefit to be derived from the Gospels, it is, indeed, of little consequence whether the plan of Carpenter, Robinson, or Tischendorf be followed. But the duration of our Saviour's ministry is a subject upon which it is not unnatural, nor irrational, that curiosity should be exercised. We therefore welcome with great satisfaction the appearance of so valuable a work relating to the subject as that of Tischendorf. It can be imported into this country for something less than one dollar and a half per copy.

The Course of Creation. By JOHN ANDERSON, D. D. With a Glossary of Scientific Terms. Cincinnati: William H. Moore & Co. 12mo. pp. 384.

NOT a few will say, we imagine, that the time has not come

for a fresh work upon geology; that a longer interval should be allowed us for digesting the rich food which within the last few years has been so liberally provided. We hope, however, that no one will be prevented by any thought of this kind from reading this excellent and very intelligible work of Dr. Anderson. It is a popular treatise, and yet enters sufficiently into details to furnish the general student with a large amount of information. The author makes no vain boast of originality, but he is original in a very good sense, inasmuch as he has made his own by thorough and personal investigation the abundant materials which others have accumulated. The only novelty to which he lays any claim consists in "following the geographical sequence in the descriptions of the several geological formations." Beginning with the Grampians of his native land, he passes through England to France and Switzerland, the land of the Alps, — classic ground now in the eye of the geologist, — travelling not by easy stages, but *per saltum*, from peak to peak, or from cavern to cavern, patronizing the railways only when they pass through a deep cut or tunnel. The "journey under ground," unlike the pleasant satire, from the Danish, we believe, begins not from a garden on the surface of the globe, but from the rock foundations upon which this surface reposes, the solid pillars of the earth that sustain its beauty and glory, the massive substratum of granite. Administering to Paley a well-deserved rebuke for his contemptuous contrast between a stone and a watch, he shows that the despised stone can supply a sermon. We pass next to the Silurian division, (so called from the *Silures*, inhabitants of the districts of England and Wales, where the Silurian strata abound,) and find the first traces of organic life; then we come to the Old Red Sandstone which Hugh Miller has made so famous, and are diverted by the way with a pleasant passage at arms between the said Miller and the Doctor, — the bones, or rather the skeletons, of strife being a genuine *Pterichthys* and *Pamphractus*, and our learned Agassiz being summoned as arbiter; then on, through yellow sandstone and trap-rock, to the coal-basins which are to supply our houses and our factories and our locomotives with fuel for years almost without end. Seven chapters are devoted to the geology of England, and that of France and Switzerland is discussed under three divisions. Plants and fishes and beasts are successively, in due order of age, introduced to the reader, and lest our faith should fail us, as wonder after wonder is narrated, and the strangest shapes, "if shapes they can be called, which shape have none," are described, we are pointed to fossil remains and enormous tracks and huge skeletons, and are even enabled to follow the courses of most venerable reptiles through mud and mire. Let no one ever

again be sceptical, for Mr. Agassiz has announced it as highly probable that fishes once walked. Somewhere in Pennsylvania it was so, in very ancient times. Our author contributes his proportion to the able argument of Mr. Hugh Miller against the author of the "Vestiges of Creation," urging the very wide intervals that prevail between the different classes of fossil animals which have thus far been found. Those who have felt any solicitude about the subject will be greatly relieved to learn that the interval between the most sauroid of fishes and the *Ichthyosaurus* can hardly be diminished. The fourth part contains a very interesting discussion of some of the general points of the science, and a geological *exegesis* of the first verses of Genesis. We were very much delighted to find in print, from so respectable an authority, what has often occurred to us as an humble suggestion which we hardly dared to express, we mean a doubt whether the confident statement that sixteen millions of years have elapsed "since the creation of life upon the earth" does not need confirmation. Dr. Anderson thinks that this estimate may be correct within some *millions*. We wish that we had enough science to examine some other scientific *demonstrations* put forth with great confidence. The author dissents from the view of the Mosaic record which throws back all geological discoveries to an anterior period, and so dispenses the scholar from any considerable attempt at reconciliation. According to him, the "days" are periods, like those "days of the Lord" which are as "a thousand years," and Moses gives a poetical and popular account of the grand creative process. We remember to have heard an exceedingly interesting lecture by Professor Mitchell of Cincinnati, in which Moses detailed the cosmogony according to the nebular hypothesis. Attempts of this kind are very interesting, and often a wonderful accordance is established between the old language and the modern theory. We cannot say how much light upon this subject may have been divinely communicated to Moses, rescued for him out of the primeval time which grows more and more mysterious the more we think about it, but we should be sorry if our faith in him who wrote of Christ depended in the least upon the accuracy of his geological information. It was enough for him to tell the idolater that God, and not Baal, made the world; for the knowledge of the process they might well wait until Solomon should give names to plants, or even longer.

We were much pleased with the suggestion advanced by the author, by way of apology for having taken time from theology for natural science, that it would be well if the leisure hours which are so often passed in listlessness were so filled up. An occupation which leads one into the open air is an invaluable

friend to the student. An added task does not necessarily imply any neglect of prior obligations. If we have any fault to find with the style of the book, it is only this, an excess of "*improvement*," with a use of what are at best only illustrations as if they were arguments. We presume, however, that the occupant of Newburgh manse is a preacher as well as a geologist, and entitled for this reason to some allowances.

Life and Manners: from the Autobiography of an English Opium-Eater. By THOMAS DE QUINCEY. Boston: Ticknor, Reed, & Fields. 1851. 16mo. pp. 347.

THE life of Mr. De Quincey is full of warning and instruction. Born about the year 1785, in that position in society which is commonly regarded as the most favorable for moral and intellectual growth, and gifted by nature with a mind at once singularly acquisitive and singularly retentive, his early education, though injurious in some respects, was well calculated to develop his various faculties. His father died when he was only seven years old, and he was thus deprived of that watchful care which would have been so advantageous to him. But his mother seems to have been ever mindful of his welfare, and to have faithfully endeavored to supply the want of paternal control to the best of her ability. After attending various private schools he was sent to Eton, and subsequently to Oxford, to complete his education. He was, however, left not a little to his own guidance; yet it is evident that he improved every opportunity of storing his mind with those vast treasures of learning and observation which characterize all his publications, and render him hardly inferior to Lord Brougham in versatility of powers. There is scarcely a subject in the whole range of classical or modern literature which he has not at one time or another mastered. History, biography, criticism, political economy, theology, fiction, — all have owed something to his pen; and he has touched no subject which he has not adorned. At one of the earliest schools that he attended he gained a prize for a metrical composition, and at Oxford he was especially distinguished for his uncommon proficiency in Greek. Nor is his acquaintance with intellectual philosophy, modern languages, and the physical sciences less thorough and exact.

No one could give a more brilliant promise, and few of his contemporaries have surpassed him in actual attainments; but his one vice of opium-eating has cast a blight over his life. At an early age he formed this pernicious habit; and his mind, alternately laboring under a feverish excitement, and sinking under an unnatural depression, lost its healthy action, while his bodily

vigor was permanently impaired. Well did Coleridge say of himself, in a letter to Joseph Cottle: "Conceive whatever is most wretched, helpless, and hopeless, and you will form as tolerable a notion of my state as it is possible for a good man to have." The same was true of Mr. De Quincey; and he saw it. By an extraordinary effort he at length threw off the wretched practice. But its results are still visible. Whatever defects are discoverable in his style are to be traced directly to this habit. It has disturbed the proper balance of his mind, and rendered his productions too often fragmentary and discursive. It has weakened that mighty influence for good which he might have exerted with his great powers; and which he doubtless has exerted to a considerable extent. It has embittered his own life, and in a great degree withdrawn him from the sympathy of others. The lives of Coleridge and De Quincey are memorable instances of the effects consequent upon an unrestrained indulgence in this worst form of intoxication. It is not easy to estimate the position which they would have held if they had lived as spotless lives as Wordsworth and Southey. Yet it may be considered nearly certain that they would have occupied a much higher rank than either of those writers; but as it is, neither has left any adequate memorial of himself.

One chapter of Mr. De Quincey's experience has long been familiar to the public in the Confessions of an English Opium-Eater. In the present volume we have an account of his childhood and youth; and the remaining portions of his autobiography will be comprised in two volumes of Personal Recollections. The part now before us is less eloquently written than the Biographical Essays; but the original matter which it contains, and the reminiscences of former days, particularly those referring to the Irish Rebellion and to his residence at Oxford, render it not less interesting than those brilliant and powerful papers. The remarks on German literature are also deserving of especial notice.

A Collection of College Words and Customs. Cambridge: John Bartlett. 1851. 12mo. pp. 319.

Till we had turned over several pages of this volume we were wholly sceptical of the sufficiency of the subject-matter to make a book. But we have been pleasantly engaged by its perusal, to a degree exceeding the measure of interest which the large majority of our modern publications excite. The unknown editor has done his work well, and made it fruitful and instructive. He has introduced a great deal of historical information, as any one may see who will refer to the words, Buttery, Class Day,

Commencement, Commons, Corporal Punishment, Dress, Fines, Freshman Servitude, Manners, Prayers, Seventy-Eighth Psalm, etc., etc. It will be evident from what is suggested by these words, that the volume is by no means a mere collection of slang terms used by college students, but even has something of the dignity of a literary vocabulary, and of an academical dictionary. Full justice, however, is done to such matters as the *Med. Fac. Society*, and the *Navy Club*, and the *Jack-knife*, which only the initiated can fully understand. If the book should go to a second edition, which ought to be and doubtless will be the case, we hope the ingenious editor will enlarge the historical and antiquarian notices, as he has given full proof of his ability to do in a most interesting manner.

The Works of John Adams, Second President of the United States: with a Life of the Author, Notes and Illustrations, by his Grandson Charles Francis Adams. Boston: Little & Brown. 1851. Vols. III., IV., and V. pp. 576, 588, 496.

These elegant volumes, which are fair specimens of the productions of our first publishers, continue the series of works already announced in our pages. While waiting for the first volume to appear before we enter upon any extended notice of the work, we will give the contents of the volumes now in our hands. Volume III. contains the remainder of the fragment of Autobiography, a Diary, Literary and Political Essays and Papers, and Controversial Papers of the Revolution. Volume IV. contains Novanglus, and Works on Government, embracing an historical review and critique. These are continued in Volume V., which is also illustrated by a finely engraved full-length portrait. It is now time that the literature of our Revolution should be presented in a form suited to attract a new generation of readers, and to offer a complete view of the men and events of that era in the light of candor and justice. Even our school-boys need something better than the superficial and often fictitious matter which is read in our class-books. We receive these volumes, therefore, with gratitude, and shall value them highly.

A Popular Cyclopædia of Biblical Literature, condensed from the larger Work. By John Kitto, D. D., F. S. A. Assisted by Rev. James Taylor, D. D., of Glasgow. Illustrated by numerous Engravings. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. 1851. 8vo. pp. 800.

We have seen and examined Kitto's complete work, and regard it as admirably adapted to supply a want which all attentive

readers of the Bible feel on the perusal of each chapter. The principle upon which this abridgment is made is, by omitting matters intelligible or desirable only to scholars and critical students, and retaining all the illustrative and instructive contents, to reduce the compass of the work one half, and thus to make it all that is needed by the majority of readers. This condensation has been effected by the author himself. He is perfectly qualified for the work which he has undertaken, as the principal labor of his life has been given to gathering materials for it. The American publishers assumed no slight risk in issuing this substantial volume, but they will be abundantly recompensed if the merits of the work can be made known to those who are looking for something of the kind. No such work can be free from defects. We would that all were as little faulty as this.

Travels in the United States, etc., during 1849 *and* 1850. By the Lady Mary Wortley. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1851. 12mo. pp. 463.

The writer of this book was in good humor, and moved by a kindly spirit. She does not appear to have been imposed upon by large and silly stories, told to her for the sake of *humbugging* her, so often nor to such an extent as are most English travellers in our country, of either sex. Whoever informed her, however, that the young folks in Boston were in the habit of discharging loaded pistols at each other, as a part of the celebration of the anniversary of Independence, tried upon her successfully a trick of the frequent practice of which we find ludicrous evidence in the journals of all who have preceded her. The authoress makes a free use of names, and enters into many particulars of merely private concern. But she evidently was led by a good purpose, and saw what passed under her eye with the intention of making a fair report of it. Her book will be pleasant reading to many who are not convinced by Dr. Johnson's Essay upon the folly of wishing to know what others think and say of us. The lady passed over too much space in too brief a time to give to her remarks any more value than that of easy and good-humored gossip.

A History of the Church in Brattle Street, Boston. By its Pastor, Samuel K. Lothrop. Boston: Crosby & Nichols. 1851. 16mo. pp. 218.

The admirably thorough and comprehensive historical discourses by Dr. Palfrey, when pastor of Brattle Street Church,

have left but little of chief interest in its annals to be learned or presented by a successor. But Mr. Lothrop has given us some very engaging discourses, which mingle moralizing and sermonizing with a review of the records of the past. The church has a history which will bear repetition. It has been served by eminent and faithful pastors. Its origin marks an important phase in the ever-changing religious aspect of Massachusetts, and events have transpired here which are in various ways interwoven with the records of all of our churches, with that in Brattle Street in an especial manner.

The Silent Pastor; or Consolations for the Sick. By Thomas Sadler, Ph. D. A New Edition, much enlarged. London: E. T. Whitfield. 1851. 16mo. pp. 224.

This little work having already proved itself, both at home and abroad, suited to perform a holy ministry to the suffering, now appears again in a form which adds to its value. Some of the choicest utterances of piety and trust, under the experience of trial borne with Christian submission, are here gathered together. There is enough of variety in the different pieces to express the strains of several hearts under similar discipline. Prose and Poetry, the Essay, the Sermon, the Meditation, the Prayer, the Psalm and the Hymn, from writers whose lives were fragrant, and whose works have secured a currency not bounded by sectarian folds, are found upon the pages of Dr. Sadler's volume.

Lectures on the Lord's Prayer. By William R. Williams. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. 1851. 12mo. pp. 241.

The author's reputation for fervid eloquence is borne out by this new volume from his pen. He allows himself a wider range of allusion and illustration than do most preachers, but he enchains the thoughts and kindles the sentiments which he addresses.

Sketches of European Capitals. By William Ware. Boston: Phillips, Sampson, & Co. 1851. 12mo. pp. 320.

Though the title of this book might lead a reader to expect that a larger number of the cities of Europe were to be noticed in its pages, he will find himself more than compensated by the amount and variety of description relating to a few of them,

which are embraced under the modest word "Sketches." Rome, Florence, Naples, and London are the themes of the volume. Some of our city readers have already enjoyed the pleasure of partaking with the author in his delightful sketches of these cities when he delivered the substance of this volume in lectures. To others we will say, that there is a charm in these pages which will greatly raise their interest in perusing them. Every observer sees different sights in the same place. Every thinker thinks different thoughts upon the same subject. According to the taste, genius, fancy, knowledge, and skill of each person who describes what he has observed, and writes what he has thought, will there be degrees and variety of interest in what he offers us. We need not say how Mr. Ware's own genius and grace have adorned his themes, nor how admirable are his criticisms on art, and his incidental moralizings.

English Literature of the Nineteenth Century: on the Plan of the Author's "Compendium of English Literature" and supplementary to it. Designed for Colleges and advanced Classes in Schools, as well as for Private Reading. By CHARLES D. CLEVELAND. Boston: Phillips, Sampson, & Co. 1851. 12mo. pp. 746.

Hymns for Schools, with Appropriate Selections from Scriptures, and Tunes suited to the Metres of the Hymns. By CHARLES D. CLEVELAND. Boston: Phillips, Sampson, & Co. 1851. 24mo. pp. 270.

THE former of these two new school manuals is a very judicious compilation of extracts from the more prominent English writers of the present century. The selections are made with discretion and taste, from a large number of authors. Brief biographical and critical notices introduce the pieces of each. The book will serve to foster a taste for reading, and lead many who peruse it to acquaint themselves more fully with the respective authors.

The second book is of rather more questionable utility. Though it is skilfully put together, contains most excellent hymns attached to excellent texts of Scripture, and is designed to suit each day of the year with something appropriate to the season or the historic associations of the day, yet we cannot say that it meets our conception of a manual for singing in schools. Perhaps we have acquired some pulpit associations with some of the hymns, which lead us to regard them as rather unsuitable for the generally gleeful, undevout, and thoughtless crowds in a school-room, upon whom it is so difficult to impress the *humanities*, to say nothing of the *spiritualities*.

INTELLIGENCE.

LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

The Messrs. Harper of New York continue their series of Abbott's Biographies, by one of the Empress Josephine. Her interesting and sad story is told in a way well suited to engage the young, while several respectable engravings speak to the eye. This series has been received with great favor in England, as well as in this country.

The Harpers have also reprinted from the English edition Otté's translation of the third volume of Humboldt's Cosmos, a Sketch of the Physical Description of the Universe. The grand generalizations of this work, as well as the particular facts of science which it embraces, will better than any other book inform a general reader of the present attainments and limitations of physical philosophy.

C. H. Peirce & Co., of Boston, have published a second series of the Memorials of the Early Progress of Methodism in the Eastern States, by Abel Stevens. The work contains biographical notices of preachers, and sketches of the formation and struggles of the churches of that denomination. The true evangelical zeal and devotion find many heart-moving illustrations of their power in these pages. The book should feed the faith and piety of a new generation.

A. D. T. Randolph, of New York, has republished a little book under the double title of "Fruits of Leisure; or, Essays written in the Intervals of Business." Four editions of this book, under the latter title, have been published in England. It was the first work by which we were made acquainted with the author, Mr. Helps, whose subsequent writings, particularly his "Friends in Council," and "Companions of my Solitude," have been received with marked favor in the world of literature.

Phillips, Sampson, & Co. have now issued, complete in forty-seven numbers, their splendid edition of Shakspeare. The type and paper, the choice engravings of the author's heroines, and the admirable apparatus of notes and illustrations which mark this edition, make it every way worthy of the encomiums which have been bestowed upon it.

D. Appleton & Co., of New York, have published a new poem by T. S. Fay, under the title of "Ulric; or, The Voices." The author has established his reputation as a tasteful and spirited writer. There is poetry, fine language, and true sentiment in this volume, and, above all, a good moral, which can be learned only by reading the tale, — one that has interest apart from its rhythm.

Professor Park gives us in the Bibliotheca Sacra for July (printed also in a separate form) another rejoinder to his Princeton Reviewer, under the title of "Unity even on Imputed and Involuntary Sin; with Comments on a Second Article in the Princeton Review relating to a Convention

Sermon." Nominally this controversy relates merely to the rhetorical use of words. But it is obvious that the two disputants, at least, have in view something of higher import than the scope of metaphorical language.

The Discourse delivered by Rev. Dr. Furness, at the Ordination of Mr. Charles E. Hodges at Barre, has been published by Crosby & Nichols. It bears the title "Faith in Christ," and after a vivid statement of the perplexities which have gathered about that condition of discipleship, and a very simple definition of its terms, the preacher proceeds to apply them to the demands which are at this day made upon disciples.

A Discourse on the Unity of God, delivered in 1850 before the Charleston Unitarian Book and Tract Society, by S. Gilman, D. D., has been published in that city, together with the Managers' Report on the Thirtieth Anniversary of that Association. The pamphlet is worthy of a wide circulation, as the Discourse presents its great Scriptural truth in the forcible and candid manner most suited to work conviction.

Story Association of the Dane Law School. — The first celebration of this new Society of the Alumni and Members of the Law School at Cambridge, took place on Tuesday, July 15. The exercises consisted of Prayer by Rev. Dr. Walker, an Oration by the Hon. Rufus Choate, and an Ode by the Hon. George Lunt, in the First Church. The members then dined together in Dane Hall.

Harvard College Commencement. — The halls of Harvard have now witnessed more than two hundred Commencements. How much would it have aided the effect of this anniversary at the present day, if our fathers had had the means for erecting one solid structure, which, by its quaint and antiquated aspect, might have been a visible memorial of their own bodily presence at the first Commencement in 1642. We have not that dread which some persons entertain of a donation to a college locked up in stone and mortar. We suppose, indeed, that the objection to such a use of pecuniary bequests has been greatly strengthened, if not created, by the frequent waste of money upon unsightly and merely temporary structures. Considering the amount which the treasury of Harvard annually expends in altering and rearranging its edifices and lecture-rooms, we are satisfied that it would have been the gainer if some proper and enduring structure had been erected one or two hundred years ago. We would venture to commend to any liberal-minded man of wealth who meditates a gift to the College, that he devote it to the erection of a solid and sightly building, arranged for the reception of the libraries and cabinets of the various societies among the undergraduates, and for their regular meetings. A considerable sum of money is now accumulating by interest for the erection of a suitable chapel.

The weather on Commencement day (Wednesday, July 16) was more comfortable than is usual, and the church was filled, as it undoubtedly would have been if its capacity were doubled. The Governor and suite were escorted to Cambridge by the Lancers. The Overseers, meeting in the Library Hall, assented to the several proposals of the Corporation for bestowing the degrees which belonged as a matter of

course to the various graduates of the day. Of these, sixty-one members of the Senior Class received the Degree of Bachelor of Arts; thirty-two Alumni that of Master of Arts, twenty-three that of Doctor in Medicine, twenty-eight that of Bachelor of Laws, and four that of Bachelor in Science, which last honor was conferred for the first time, as a token of the first fruits of the Lawrence Scientific School.

The exercises in the church were of a character to answer all reasonable expectations, some of the *parts* exhibiting vigor and skill, while all were of a high literary standard. It becomes all mature persons who listen to such performances to consider what they ought to look for, and what ought to satisfy them as conformed to the spirit of the occasion, and to the age and circumstances of the speakers. Any thing very brilliant, positive, or independent from their lips would be pronounced pert or flippant, while very proper and judicious sentiments are called tame and commonplace. Practical men, especially some who had not the training of a college course, will often complain of the exercises at Commencement as being too much devoted to classical themes and past and foreign characters and events, to the neglect of present and domestic topics. But old wisdom is the surest and the safest, and he that looks for the morals of ancient characters and incidents, will find more in them to instruct him than in any crude dealings with the agitations and controversies of our own day, especially if young men are to speak upon them for five or ten minutes each.

The following Honorary Degrees were conferred by the President in behalf of the Corporation. That of Doctor of Divinity upon the Rev. Alonzo Hill of Worcester, Rev. Rufus Phineas Stebbins, President of Meadville Theological School, Rev. John A. Albro of Cambridge, and Rev. Stephen H. Tyng of New York. That of Doctor of Laws upon His Excellency George Sewall Boutwell, Governor of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts; Sylvanus Thayer, Colonel of Engineers, U. S. A.; Alexander D. Bache, Superintendent of the U. S. Coast Survey; Joseph Henry, Director of the Smithsonian Institute, Washington, D. C.; John J. Crittenden, Attorney-General of the United States; Benjamin F. Dunkin, Chancellor of South Carolina; and John A. Lowell, of Boston.

The Honorary Degree of Master of Arts was conferred upon Rev. Nathaniel Hall of Dorchester; Ormsby N. Mitchell, Director of the Astronomical Observatory at Cincinnati, Ohio; Simeon Borden of Fall River; William R. Lee of Roxbury; Jonathan Kimball of Lowell; James Rhoads of Philadelphia; and John D. Runkle of Cambridge.

The tables in Harvard Hall were crowded by the Alumni at dinner, a blessing having been invoked by Rev. Dr. Kendall of Plymouth. The usual psalm — the Seventy-eighth of the Old Version — was sung, under the lead of Mr. John L. Sibley, the Assistant Librarian. President Sparks then resigned the chair to the Hon. Edward Everett, who, as President of the Association of the Alumni, introduced with appropriate remarks a list of those of the graduates who had deceased during the closing academical year. Of these, the number, as far as had been ascertained, was forty-three. Mr. Everett gave their names in the order of their graduation, with brief biographical notices, leaving to any classmate or friend to follow him at the close of the enumeration by more extended notices. Mr. Samuel Payson, of Charlestown, though not the oldest in years, was the oldest in the order of graduation who had

died during the year. He belonged to the class of 1782, was the son of the Rev. Phillips Payson, predecessor of Dr. Tuckerman in the church at Chelsea, was for many years a teacher in Charlestown, and for nearly a quarter of a century cashier of the Massachusetts Bank in Boston. He was a man of many virtues, of sterling integrity, of great benevolence, and of a most winning and guileless simplicity: one of the honored gentlemen of the old school, and a Christian of the only true school. He died January 10, 1851, leaving his classmate, the Hon. John Welles of Boston, to be the College Nestor. There are survivors in every class down to the present year.

Ex-President Quincy rose to say a few words in commemoration of two of his classmates, — 1790, — whose names were on the list, though he had not known the fact of but one of them, till that moment. They were Benjamin Hasey, of Topsham, Me., and Peter Holt, of Greenfield, N. H. It was impressive and delightful to observe the stillness of the large audience, as, with all the freshness of youthful remembrance and sensibility, the venerable speaker recalled his companions of sixty-five years ago, when they entered upon their college course.

The Hon. Charles G. Loring, of the Corporation, gave a respectful and affectionate tribute to a deceased classmate.

The whole number of Graduates of Harvard College is 6,342. Of these, there are supposed to be living 2,177. Alluding to the usage by which, in the College Catalogue, an asterisk is affixed to the name of a deceased graduate, and to the summary mention in the words, "E vivis cesserunt Stelligeri," Mr. Everett asked why we might not say of those who have left us, "In vivos accesserunt Stelligeri."

The Triennial Catalogue, which is published this year, makes a large increase in size at each successive appearance. The present one includes for the first time the graduates of the Theological School. We cannot but commend the care and pains which have recently been spent upon this Catalogue to ascertain all the honors which the graduates have borne in life, and the distant dates of the decease of many of them. The eagerness with which this pamphlet was sought after on Commencement Day is a token of the interest of the Alumni in their *Alma Mater*.

After the usual time of social intercourse had been spent around the tables, the Association of Alumni met in the hall above, Mr. Everett in the chair. The officers were reëlected, except that the place of Secretary was filled by the choice of Dr. Shurtleff of Boston, the Rev. S. K. Lothrop being abroad. It was announced by the committee that they had continued their efforts to secure a literary festival for the Alumni, and that a request was to be made of the members of the Phi Beta Kappa Society that they would, on alternate years, yield the day following Commencement to the use of this Association. At the meeting of the Phi Beta Kappa on the next day, this request was cordially acceded to; so that we may look for a pleasant occasion with all proper accompaniments in the academic week of 1852.

Changes in College Professorships. — Several changes have taken place in the College during the academic year by the termination of the labors of three professors, and the introduction of new incumbents in their respective places, as well as by new appointments to tutorships. The Erving Professorship of Chemistry and Mineralogy is now filled by

Josiah Parsons Cooke, whose nomination has been confirmed by the Overseers, and who is at present in Europe. Dr. Charles Beck, having filled the Professorship of Latin for eighteen years, resigned it last year, after a term of most faithful and effective service. With all the advantages of his German training, and of his long devotion to his chosen study, he must be admirably furnished for the work of facilitating to others the labors of his own life. We hope that his easy and well-earned leisure will be spent in some attractive works which he can so well adorn by his ripe scholarship and his profound attainments. The Corporation have nominated in place of Dr. Beck, Mr. George Martin Lane, a distinguished classical scholar of the class of 1846. He also is now in Europe, pursuing the studies for which he had a taste from his earliest youth, and in which he has sought the advantages of Continental universities. His return to commence his labors with the next college term will be warmly welcomed. Mr. Edward Tyrrel Channing, having been appointed Professor of Rhetoric and Oratory in 1819, has most faithfully and laboriously discharged his duties till he resigned the office at the close of the last term. His duties have been as onerous as those of any officer of the College, requiring a diversity of tasks and a kind of work which have made large demands on patience. To one whose taste might lead him to choose only the best compositions in the language, it must have been a somewhat irksome task to correct the themes of students, to read over every week a pile of letter-sheets, — such as they are, — written in every conceivable strain of flatulency, bombast, stilted extravagance, commonplace, or inanity, with occasional, perhaps not rare, specimens of genius. To find the subjects suited for themes for so many writers requires some considerable pains. To be able always to discover when a student has preferred to be indebted to some writer already in print rather than to draw upon his own brain, implies a considerable amount of reading and an acquired watchfulness. It is easy to imagine that a college professor in this department might need to be constantly alert and well furnished with a large charity for tyros, as well as disposed to extend to the utmost limits of allowance all the phenomena which could be brought within the compass of the fact, that the same thought, and even the same words, may occur to two or more writers when dealing with the same subject. There is even a tradition that the excellent Professor was once astounded by the presentation of the same theme in duplicate by two young gentlemen of the same class. The youth who began each line with a capital letter, and who met the suggestion of the Professor, that it was not well to have his *sentences* all of a length and all so short as they appeared to be, by announcing that the theme was written in blank verse, must have been relieved by the exclamation, "Oh! *Poetry?* Is it? O, that accounts for it!" But who of us that has passed under the discipline does not rejoice over it? Who of his pupils does not remember with gratitude the pruning skill and good taste shown in the suggestions of the Professor, and smile inwardly at the remembrance of his good-humored, but sometimes keen, criticism upon bathos, vulgarism, or nonsense? "What makes you read that sentence aloud, and emphasize it in so marked a manner?" has doubtless been the question suppressed only by the teeth of many a nervous sufferer, when an unfortunate passage has been uttered in the hearing of laughing classmates. Yet the discipline, the humor, the almost drollery and raillery, were all good. We return our cordial and

most respectful thanks for our share in them. How many pages in this periodical — indeed by far the larger part of them — have proved, unworthily though it may have been, the care and effort which the Professor has spent upon his thousands of pupils! We fear lest we have trespassed upon some one of his good rules even in what we have written with the intent of offering a grateful tribute to their honored teacher. The retiring Professor was most happily complimented by the Rev. Samuel Osgood of New York, at the dinner of the Phi Beta Kappa Society. May all kindly and cheerful companions, within and without, attend upon him, and may he enjoy the sweet delights of "idle time not idly spent," while he shall contemplate "the pleasant countenance of truth in the quiet and still air of delightful studies."

Professor Channing's place has been supplied by the nomination of Mr. Francis James Child, now in Europe, who was a graduate of the class of 1846, and who, by his discharge of the duties of Instructor in the department which he is to fill as Professor, has already secured the high regard of the College officers and students.

Phi Beta Kappa Society. — The Anniversary of this Society took place as usual, on the day following Commencement. It was known beforehand that the poet chosen for the occasion, Mr. James T. Fields, of Boston, would be prevented by severe domestic bereavement from performing the agreeable service for which he had prepared himself. The attendance was not as large as usual. Several honorary members were elected at the business meeting, at which it was voted to accede to the request of the Association of the Alumni of Harvard, made known by a letter from Hon. Edward Everett, to yield the use of the day following Commencement in alternate years to the Association. The exercises in the church were introduced by Prayer, by Rev. Dr. G. W. Blagden of Boston. The Rev. Dr. W. B. Sprague of Albany delivered an Oration on "The American Mind, its Origin and Destiny." The Rev. John Pierpont of Medford had assented to the sudden call made upon him, by bringing with him a poem on Progress, which he had prepared for another occasion. This he kindly delivered, introducing it with four lines furnished to him *impromptu* by the Rev. William Newell. Hon. Robert C. Winthrop presided at the dinner in Harvard Hall, which was enlivened by brilliant speeches.

RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE.

Divinity School at Meadville, Penn. — The anniversary exercises of this flourishing School took place on Thursday, June 26. On the evening preceding, a discourse was to have been delivered before the graduating class by the Rev. Henry Ward Beecher, of Brooklyn, N. Y. Indisposition having precluded his discharge of that service, the Rev. James F. Clarke, who is residing at Meadville for the restoration of his health, most kindly and satisfactorily supplied the deficiency, and delivered a very earnest and powerful discourse on "The Positive Theology of Unitarians." On Thursday morning, the Rev. Mr. Ball, of Upton, Mass., a former graduate of the School, gave an address in Divinity Hall before the Associated Alumni; his subject being "The Christian Thinker."

In the afternoon, dissertations were read by the gentlemen whose names are attached to the respective titles, as follows: — Faith and Works; Paul and James, by Mr. William D. Andrews. Science and Religion, by Mr. Austin S. Dean. Holiness in a Minister, by Mr. Martin G. Dean. The Prophet Isaiah, by Mr. J. R. Hoag. Frederic of Saxony, by Mr. Gustavus V. Maxham. Christ, the Light of the World, by Mr. Thomas J. Mumford. Itinerant Ministry, by Mr. William D. Potts. President Stebbins then addressed the graduates with an affectionate tone of regard and sympathy, and with words of wise counsel, as he conferred the certificates which testified to their academic and moral preparation for their work.

We rejoice at the prosperity which smiles upon this vigorous seminary of the West. Our pulpits even in these regions have borne witness to the abilities which it has fostered and trained. It has received an impulse from the endowment which was so generally made in answer to the appeal of the Trustees. It is situated just where it can most effectually do its work. Preachers for the West must be trained at the West. The air beyond the mountains is good for the lungs and stomachs of those who have been born there, but does not seem to agree with Cambridge constitutions. The Rev. N. S. Folsom will now devote himself entirely to the full duties of a Professor, for which he has an aptitude, and in the discharge of which he has had high success. His place as pastor of the Independent Church at Meadville will be temporarily filled by the Rev. James F. Clarke.

Divinity School at Cambridge. — The Thirty-Fifth Annual Visitation of this department of Harvard University took place in the College Chapel on Tuesday, July 15. The graduating class numbered only five candidates for the ministry. The class which, according to the usual course, will graduate next July, now contains eleven members. The exercises opened with Prayer, by Professor Francis. Each of the young men who on this day completed their professional course then read a dissertation on the subjects following, three hymns being sung during the exercises: — The Theology of Sir Isaac Newton, by Adams Ayer, A. B. The Importance of the Poetry of the Bible to the Preacher, by Warren Handel Cudworth, A. B. The Ministry of Richard Baxter, by Thomas Dwight Howard, A. B. The Practical Object of the References to the Divine Purposes in the Epistles of Paul, by Charles Lowe, A. M. The Nature and Formation of Myths, by Horatio Stebbins, A. B. Concluding Prayer, by Professor Noyes. The exercises gave satisfaction to the company of friends and brethren assembled on the occasion, and indicated a faithful culture on the part of the pupils, aided by the devoted labors of the two Professors. The oration and services of the Story Association of the Law School, which were attended at the same time in the parish church, did not seem to draw away the interest which belonged for the day by precedent and vested right to the Theological School. Are there not days enough in the year to allow to each department of the University its own commemorative or festival observances, without a real or an apparent collision? It is hardly wise at this juncture for the representatives of the two professions to multiply the occasions of seeming variance between Law and Gospel.

The usual Discourse before the members of the graduating class in

the Theological School had been delivered on the Sunday evening preceding, by Rev. Chandler Robbins of Boston, from the words, — "For without me ye can do nothing."

After an excellent dinner provided by the College in Harvard Hall, for the guests and students, the Theological Alumni assembled for their Annual Meeting in the College Chapel, the Rev. Dr. Parkman in the chair. The officers of the Association were reëlected. Rev. Dr. Lunt of Quincy was chosen by ballot as Second Preacher for the next year, the Rev. Dr. Putnam standing as First Preacher. The hour having arrived, religious exercises were performed, and a Discourse was delivered by Rev. Calvin Lincoln, Secretary of the American Unitarian Association. His subject was, The Grounds and Value of Sympathy and Coöperation among Ministers. Text, Romans xii. 5.

In the business meeting of the Association, a series of Resolutions was introduced by Rev. Dr. Gannett, and seconded by Rev. Dr. Hall of Providence, R. I., expressive of a hearty interest in the School, of satisfaction with its condition as regards the disposition of its students and the conscientious fidelity of its Professors, of a desire that more young men might avail themselves of its opportunities, and of a respectful suggestion that the official guardians and the personal friends of the institution would provide means for relieving the onerous labors of the two instructors by giving them the aid of another.

As to the question which is so often discussed in our fraternal circles, — the expediency of retaining the connection between the College and the Theological School, or of severing it and removing the latter from Cambridge, we find that opinions are about equally divided, and that the advantages and disadvantages of either course are supposed to be well balanced. If the connection is retained, the Corporation of the College cannot be expected to exhibit that amount of interest in the success of the School which they show for the efficiency of the Medical, the Law, and the Scientific departments of the University. While religious sectaries have not scrupled to misrepresent the facts of the case in this regard, the Corporation will probably be very cautious of affording any marked evidence of a denominational zeal.

If the connection between the College and the School is severed, the latter must lose the benefit of certain funds which were actually and literally given for its use, though technically committed to the President and Fellows of the College. The success of the School in its existing relation must depend upon the hearty interest and sympathy of its friends outside of the College. Our ministers must look to it as the nursery of their successors, and every minister of one of our congregations might cherish and do something to realize the wish, that at least one young man from his flock should become a student in that School. Cambridge has now a rival in Meadville. The relation between the two institutions is wholly amicable; not an act, not a word, not a feeling even, we are confident, has been done, uttered, or entertained, inconsistent with a spirit of perfect friendship for either or both of them. Reasons wholly independent of the relations of either seminary will guide students to one or the other of them. But Cambridge has advantages which ought to be improved. If another Professor, or even an instructor, could be secured, to relieve Drs. Noyes and Francis of some one department of instruction, three times the present number of

students might find there ample means for professional training. Why will not some warm friend of our School furnish the Corporation with funds for a permanent, or at least a temporary appointment?

We are desirous of making known to any who may be ignorant of them the privileges and opportunities which the School at Cambridge offers to such as have a love and fitness of heart and mind for the work of the Christian ministry. The free and catholic air of the Institution are in admirable harmony with the spirit and the need of this age. The rights of independent thought are respected. Devout and patient inquiry is made the chief condition for the discovery of truth. While at other seminaries authority and spiritual despotism set up limitations to overawe and prohibit honest questionings, the student here is advised that the field of truth has no fences, no spring-guns or pitfalls. Benevolence supplies means sufficient to lighten the burdens of a three years' toil, which is not rewarded by money, though for obvious reasons the School does not offer a bounty to allure any who might come to it with mixed motives. The sums granted annually to students who desire such aid are but trifling compared with the endowments of Fellowships in the English Universities, which are put to much the same uses. There is sufficient to afford to the most needy at Cambridge a sum which will cover the expense of room, of board, and of instruction, while if the merits of any individual students are equal to their wants, there never will be a lack of such further aid, and so bestowed, as may be received with all proper feelings.

If a candidate for admission to the School is not furnished with a college degree, he is required, besides bringing his letter of introduction and his certificate of good character, to pass such a literary and classical examination as will test his ability to improve the opportunities that are to be afforded him. He is not required at his entrance, no, nor even at his departure with the certificate of the School, to assent to any form of doctrinal belief or denominational policy. He is as free and unfettered, and, we will add, as unbiased in this respect, as is any individual on the face of the whole earth. So far as any express or exacted condition is involved, so far as any influence brought to bear on him is concerned, the graduate may go directly to a Calvinistic, Episcopal, Swedenborgian, or Roman Catholic Church, and offer himself as a minister at its altar. We rejoice in our very hearts, we devoutly thank God, that this is so. Never may it be otherwise. We shall always regard this condition of our own professional studies as having put into our hands the very keys and the torch most likely to guide us to the mysteries of truth.

We love to dwell on the remembrances of one of the lecture-rooms. The venerable Henry Ware is seated at the head of the table, his pupils are seated around it. He has before him a writing-book, each page of which, under the title of some subject in dogmatic or systematic theology, bears a list of the leading works and authorities which have advocated the various views and opinions of the great sects. He announces the topic which we are to investigate for our next exercise, — be it a question of the Trinity, of the Vicarious Atonement, of the Papacy, or of Episcopacy. He refers us to the great champions of the respective doctrines or theories. He requires us to read and master their arguments, to learn all that can be said on their side, to do full justice to them, either by adopting them if sustained, or by pronouncing

where we find them unsatisfactory. Instead of instilling into us some opinion of his own, he allows all the great lights or leaders of Christendom to have their full power over us, and permits them to say all that they can say for themselves. And when we come together to give the results of our investigations, our venerable friend, the very impersonation of candor, listens attentively to see if we do justice to our authors, and if their case might have been put stronger than they have stated it, Dr. Ware will make it up to them. And so was it under the instructions of another, an honored, beloved, and faithful Professor, who still lives, though not to do the work which he did so well. With him we read in Hebrew and in Greek the original words of the sacred oracles, not to verify preconceived opinions, nor to justify foregone conclusions, forced upon us by a creed of man's device, but to learn and understand what is written, to discover what are the doctrines, truths, lessons, and aims of the Bible. If any one can devise a method of instruction more free from the risks of uncharitableness, bigotry, and error than this, or more likely to lead to the simple truth, we should be glad to have the method indicated. It is to be remembered, too, that the text-books used in the School are, with most inconsiderable exceptions, the works of men who were neither Unitarians nor Congregationalists. Yet it is from these and the Bible that we are expected to discover the truth. How different is the liberality of our brotherhood in this respect from the jealousy and timidity of some other denominations! The theological seminary of one of the large denominations in this country forbids by its rules the admission of any *heretical* book into its library. What better evidence could it give of its own heretical character, and of its dread of the light?

We believe that the liberal influences of the School at Cambridge are in perfect harmony with the spirit which now moves the hearts of many of the wisest and best persons in Christendom. Let them be liberally dispensed, and let them be valued as they should be, for they have been purchased to the world at a heavy cost.

It is possible that a reconsideration of the question by the Corporation may result in severing the School from their jurisdiction, and in its removal from Cambridge; allowing it at its departure all the funds which, by the intent of the donors, were designed for the support of a theological institution on the most liberal Protestant basis. We have our doubts whether this would result in unqualified good, though we freely confess that, under the existing arrangements, the School suffers by the anomalous and constrained relation which it bears to a so-called State University. If by any happy contingency the State should be led to define its own relations to the College, we may hope that another matter will be decided with that. When the Corporation accepted funds from Unitarians, given to endow a liberal school of theology, the contract supposed a right on the part of the Corporation to receive money for such uses, and at the same time encouraged an expectation that the funds would be made as effective as possible. There is an undeniable perplexity in the present position of the parties to the contract, but there is also wisdom enough to deal judiciously with it.

CHRISTIAN EXAMINER.

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" VII. — Rev. N. L. Frothingham, D.D. Boston.

" VIII. — Notices of Recent Publications.
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THE

CHRISTIAN EXAMINER

AND

RELIGIOUS MISCELLANY.

NOVEMBER, 1851.

Art. I. — ELIAS HICKS, AND THE HICKSITE QUAKERS.*

The name of Elias Hicks has attained a notoriety by himself wholly unanticipated, and probably undesired. He has been made, against his will, as it seems to us, an heresiarch, and has been placed at the head of a sect, to which his name has been attached. The consequence has been, that his character has been the subject of the most contradictory representations. His friends and admirers have thought him almost an apostle, while his enemies and opposers seem to regard him as a sort of Lucifer, a man largely endowed by nature, but using his powers chiefly for mischief; not satisfied with wandering off into error himself, but drawing after him, like the old Dragon, a third part of the stars by the sweep of his tail.

* 1. *A Series of Extemporaneous Discourses, delivered in the several Meetings of the Society of Friends, in Philadelphia, Germantown, Abington, Byberry, Newtown Falls, and Trenton;* by Elias Hicks, a Minister in said Society. Taken in short-hand by M. T. C. Gould. Philadelphia: Joseph and Edward Parker. 1825. pp 322.

2. *Journal of the Life and Religious Labors of* Elias Hicks. Written by himself. New York: Isaac T. Hoppin. 1832. pp. 451.

3. *Letters of* Elias Hicks, *including also a few short Essays written on several Occasions, mostly illustrative of his Doctrinal Views.* New York: Isaac T. Hoppin. 1834. pp. 234.

The facts are these. Elias Hicks exercised the functions of a minister among the Quakers for more than fifty years, beginning about the year 1772, a few years before the Revolutionary war, and continuing till 1830, with the greatest acceptance. No suspicion of heresy, or any unsoundness of faith, seems to have attached to him for more than forty years. It was then discovered that he was a heretic, and was teaching to the community the most pernicious and soul-ruining errors. He and his opinions were denounced, and a separation took place in the Society of Friends. All who refused to join in the clamors against him were driven out as aliens from the commonwealth of Israel, and strangers to the covenant of promise. It did not stop there. His religious character was set at naught, the most revolting opinions were attributed to him, and the most shocking sentiments put into his mouth. He was classed with almost every condemned errorist that has ever appeared in the Christian Church.

In fact, his enemies have succeeded in fixing upon him the opprobrium of deism, and with those who have had no means of informing themselves throughout the country, the opinion now prevails, that he renounced and disregarded the Scriptures altogether. This charge was so often and confidently repeated, that we confess that we ourselves supposed there must be truth in it, until, in the year 1828, we heard him preach. Nothing could well be further from infidelity than the discourse to which we listened. The deepest reverence was expressed for the Sacred Scriptures. He also made a distinct and emphatic recognition of the Divine authority of Jesus Christ. His whole demeanor was more that of a humble saint, than of a scoffing infidel. If he was not a man of unaffected piety, he was one of the profoundest hypocrites that ever lived. No moral inconsistency or scandal has ever, so far as we are informed, attached to his name, and if a life of fourscore years of Christian obedience cannot establish a man's integrity, then there is no trust to be put in any evidence that man can give of devotion to God.

It is gratifying to us to find that our impression of his opinions was not a mistake, and that he has left on record ample testimony that the charge of deism, so

freely brought against him, is wholly false. In a letter written to Charles Stokes, of New Jersey, in the year 1829, the year before his death, there is the following passage: —

"As for the Scriptures of truth, as recorded in the book called the Bible, I have ever believed that all parts of them that could not be known but by revelation were written by holy men as they were inspired by the Holy Ghost, and could not be known through any other medium, and that they are profitable for our encouragement, comfort, and instruction, in the very way that the Apostle Paul testifies; and I have ever accounted them, when rightly understood, as the best books extant. I have always delighted in reading them, in my serious moments, in preference to any other book, from my youth up, and have made more use of their contents to confirm and establish my ministerial labors in the Gospel, than most other ministers that I am acquainted with." — *Letters*, p. 215.

As to the Divine mission and supernatural character and credentials of Christ, the testimony of his correspondence with his most intimate friends is no less explicit. In the same letter he says of Christ: —

"I have always believed, since I have been a man, and reflected on the subject, in the miraculous conception of Jesus, as far as history can give belief; and no man, I conceive, is possessed of a higher belief. And as to his divinity, I am fully convinced that he was truly the Son of God, and that he could not be so, unless he fully partook of the very nature, spirit, likeness, and divinity of his Heavenly Father."

In a letter, dated the same year, to Thomas Legget, of New York, he further says: —

"As respects the divinity of Jesus Christ, I apprehend no minister in the Society of Friends has more often in his public communications asserted the divinity of Jesus Christ, the Son of God, than I have, assuring my hearers, that he was fully swallowed up into the divine nature and complete divinity of his Heavenly Father."

These testimonies, written so near the time of his decease, must be considered as expressing his last sentiments, and for ever put to rest the charges of deism and infidelity so often brought against him.

Why, then, were these charges made, and sought to be

fixed upon him so industriously? This inquiry leads us to a history of his life, and to a development of the circumstances which, in his later years, brought him so prominently before the ecclesiastical body to which he belonged, and the religious public at large.

Who was Elias Hicks? Elias Hicks was born in the township of Hempstead, in Queen's County, on Long Island, on the 19th of March, 1748. His parents, John and Martha Hicks, belonged to reputable families, and were at the time of his birth in connection with the Society of Friends. He tells us in his Journal, that he was exposed at an early age, like most young people, to the perils of light and gay companionship; and in his own words, "being of a lively, active spirit, and ambitious of excelling in my play and diversions, I sometimes exceeded the bounds of true moderation, for which I often felt close conviction and fears on my pillow in the night season." While he was yet very young, his father removed to a farm he had inherited on the south side of the island, near the sea-shore. The shore, he says, abounded with fish and fowl, "and I soon began to occupy myself with angling for the former and shooting the latter." "These amusements," continues he, "gained an ascendency in my mind, and although they were diversions for which I felt condemnation at a later period, yet I am led to believe that they were at this time profitable to me in my exposed condition, as they had a tendency to keep me more at and about home, and often prevented me from joining loose company, which I had frequent opportunities of doing, without my father's knowledge." Another benefit, we feel confident, that he derived from these sports, was the development and formation of a sound and vigorous constitution. We saw him at the age of eighty, and a more erect and commanding form or nobler presence we have seldom seen.

About the age of seventeen, he was apprenticed to the trade of a carpenter. Here he was beset as before by temptations, and so far yielded to them that "he learned to dance, and pursue other frivolous and vain amusements." It was at a dance that he was first struck under such serious convictions, as to lead him to renounce all light and frivolous amusements for ever. At the age of twenty-two, he took to wife, according to

God's ordinance, Jemmima Seaman, daughter of Jonathan and Elizabeth Seaman, of Jericho, with whom he seems to have lived in the greatest harmony and happiness for nearly sixty years.

Soon after his marriage, his religious convictions increased upon him, and in a few years he became a recognized minister in the Society of Friends, and began to travel, as he was moved, from place to place, in the exercise of his gift as a speaker and counsellor in their public meetings. He was hardly settled in life when the Revolutionary struggle commenced, and Long Island became the seat of war. Quakers, as well as others, were involved in the perils and privations which hostile armies are wont to inflict on friend and foe. It was in connection with an incident growing out of the war, that Hicks first left home in an official capacity. The occurrence, as related in his Journal, bears strong testimony to the conscientious consistency of the Quakers of that period. Under their meeting-house in New York there was a large cellar, which was usually rented as a store. When the king's troops took possession of the city, they used this store for the purpose of depositing in it their arms and ammunition. They, however, sought out those persons who had the disposal of it, and offered to pay them rent. Without much reflection, these Quakers took the money. When it came to the ears of the Society at large, it caused much dissatisfaction, and a complaint was entered, in the yearly meeting of 1779, against the proceeding. Those who had taken the money justified the act, and on being required to refund it, appealed for justification to the conduct of their brethren in Philadelphia, in similar cases. It was finally agreed to refer the subject to the meeting in Pennsylvania. Hicks was one of the delegation to lay the matter before the proper authorities. The result was, that it was determined to refund the money. Thus the original testimony of the Society against war was consistently maintained.

It was during this absence, that Elias began what might almost be called his apostolical visitations of the churches, which terminated only with his life. At this early period, it would seem that, wherever he came, he was listened to with great attention, and began to be

considered a man of mark. Before his return, he had attended meetings of Friends in no less than twelve different places on the mainland, besides three on Long Island. On this first journey he was absent nine weeks, and rode more than eight hundred miles. Thus commenced the ministerial career of Elias Hicks.

The discipline and usages of the Quakers greatly favor the manifestation, the development, and the cultivation of whatever native talent or spiritual gifts there may spring up among them. Every man is allowed to speak, but they only *continue* to speak whom experiment proves to have been endowed with that illumination which enables them to "profit withal." In this sense, as they say, their ministry is ordained by God. No favoritism, no wealth, no influence of caste or clique, can uphold a man, or give him currency, without solid endowments; and every man rises to precisely that degree of influence that his character, his mind, his eloquence, his person, his manner, spontaneously command. Learning has very little to do with it, for there is little or no citation of authority. How can there be, when the appeal is to the light that is given to *every* man, and that shineth in every mind? Books may be quoted, the Scriptures may be quoted, but nothing, on Quaker principles, can be admitted as truth on authority, or which does not carry its own evidence along with it. The Quaker Society presents, therefore, the very state of things in which a profound thinker will make himself most felt. His power is precisely commensurate with the conviction he produces in the minds of his hearers. There being no special ordination over any community, the able and eloquent man has a currency where ability and eloquence are appreciated, and that is everywhere.

His second ministerial journey was made in the year 1781, still during the war. It was made in company with one William Valentine, and lay chiefly in the eastern parts of the State of New York. It was early in the spring, and, as the country was new and rough, it was accompanied by not a little suffering and privation. In the course of it, he visited what is now Saratoga. Those who have seen the splendors and enjoyed the luxuries of that famous watering-place may learn what it was at the period of the Revolution from an incidental

notice by Elias, in his account of his visit to this place in 1781.

"We then rode that afternoon about twelve miles towards Albany, and lodged at an inn; and the next day we reached Saratoga, since called Easton, and lodged with our friend, Daniel Cornell. It was late in the night before we arrived, and the evening snowy; and the country being newly settled, Friends' houses were generally but poor, so that several times, while in these parts, I felt the snow fall on my face while in bed. This affected me with a heavy cold when I first came here, but I was afterwards much favored during the journey, having in a good measure become inured to the hardships we had to go through."

In this journey, which would perhaps among other sects of Christians be called a *missionary journey*, he rode eight hundred and fifty miles, attended thirty-two meetings, and visited about ninety families. In the autumn of this year he was attacked by a severe illness, in the shape of a fever, which lasted several months, and brought him near to the grave. To one who is acquainted with the laws of health, it will readily suggest itself that there was a near connection between this fever and the snow-blanket under which he slept at Saratoga.

Similar visits were made by him to different parts of New England and New York, in the years 1783, 1784, 1790, 1791, 1792, and 1793. In 1790, he made a journey to Vermont, where some impression seemed to have been already made in favor of the principles of the Quakers in the town of Strafford. The enterprise was at first successful, and a society was organized, but it afterwards fell into weakness and discord. The reasons given by Elias are significant, and are calculated to strengthen the hands of the advocates of practical preaching in preference to doctrinal: —

"For want of keeping inward enough to the principle of Divine light and grace, they became weak; and those who apprehended it their duty to teach had got too much out into words and speculative preaching and doctrines, which soon produced discord and schism among them."

Here, moreover, is a sad presage of the troubles into which he was destined to see the whole society fall, in after years, from the same cause.

This missionary journey was extended over the greater

part of New England, as he records his having preached in some of the chief towns of New Hampshire, Maine, Massachusetts, and Rhode Island. He did not altogether abstain from doctrinal preaching himself, for he tells us that at Portland, Maine, he preached to a promiscuous assembly in the Court-house, and says: "Many doctrines of the Gospel were clearly opened, and the unsound doctrines of *original sin* and *predestination*, also the schemes of the Universalists, Atheists, and Deists, were confuted from Scripture and reason."

This ministerial visitation occupied five months, and in the course of it this zealous preacher travelled, he tells us, two thousand two hundred and eighty-three miles. He visited every Quaker society in New England, besides preaching often out of the bounds of his sect.

Elias Hicks was now in the meridian of life, his powers and faculties were in their full vigor, and his reputation as an able and efficient minister was fully established. It was natural that he should wish to extend his usefulness beyond the sphere in which he had hitherto moved. The great body of the Friends lay in the Middle States. These brethren he had never seen, except on a short visit to Philadelphia during the war. In the year 1797, he carried into effect a design which he had long cherished, of paying them a visit. His record of this undertaking is interesting to those who are unacquainted with the manner in which things are done among the Quakers.

"Having for several years felt my mind drawn at times in Gospel love to visit Friends of the yearly meeting of Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Delaware, Maryland, and some parts of Virginia, in the fall of the year 1797, apprehending the time to be nigh for the performance of the visit, I laid my concern before Friends of the monthly and quarterly meetings, of which I was a member, and received certificates of their unity and concurrence."

On his way south he stopped at New York, and attended some meetings which were held there at that time. He then visited Staten Island, and passed on to New Jersey. Everywhere he was well received, edifying and comforting his brethren, and experiencing great enjoyment himself in the exercise of the ministerial func-

tion. His arrival at Philadelphia, the seat of the principles he professed, and the city of Penn, was a season of peculiar enjoyment. Passing on, he remained a short time at Chester, and from Wilmington he made a tour of Delaware, preaching not only to Quakers, but to Christians of other sects, who were drawn to hear him by his reputation for piety and eloquence. Returning, he passed round the head of the Chesapeake Bay, and, visiting small communities of his people, journeyed on to Baltimore.

Maryland has always contained a strong representation of the followers of George Fox. In Baltimore, they early attained to great respectability as regards numbers, intelligence, influence, and wealth. He tells us that he here bore strong testimony against conformity to the world. It was in the same meeting-house that we listened to him thirty-one years afterwards. During this visit he preached to the poor at the almshouse, and to the colored people. That his reputation had preceded him, we learn from a record he makes of one of the Friends' meetings at which he was present.

"The 11th being the first of the week, we attended Friends' meeting in the forenoon, and some notice being given among the towns-people of our being there, it was large; and after sitting a considerable time in silent labor, wherein my mind was baptized into the states of those present, I stood up with a prospect of the hurtful tendency of pride, both in religion and society."

This was his first visit to a slave State, and we find him courageously bearing the Quaker testimony against that institution in the midst of its upholders. At a place in the country called "Indian Spring," of course in the midst of plantations worked by slaves, he tells us: —

"In this meeting, I was led in a plain and full manner to expose the enormous sin of oppression, and of holding our fellow-creatures in bondage, with the pernicious fruits and effects of it to those who are guilty thereof, especially to their children; who, being supported by the labors of those held in slavery, and thereby brought up in idleness, were led into pride, and a very false and dark idea respecting God, and his superintending providence, and into many other evils fatal to their present and eternal well-being, and tending to disqualify them from being useful

in almost every respect, either to themselves or society, and thereby rendering them unworthy of the respect of wise and good men."

Such was the language which it was safe for a Northern man to use at the South in the year 1797, before these days of ill-blood and mutual exasperation. In this way he travelled on through Maryland and a part of Virginia, returning through Pennsylvania to Philadelphia. Here there was a meeting of ministers and elders, which lasted for three days. Having attended this, he journeyed towards home, taking in his way several societies of Friends, among whom he labored. He was absent on this journey five months, travelled sixteen hundred miles, and attended one hundred and forty-three meetings.

Such then was the life of Elias Hicks. Such gifts, united with so much industry, could not fail to acquire extensive influence. His preaching was almost wholly practical, and we do not find that his doctrinal views met with any opposition. Whatever differences of opinion prevailed among the Society at that time, they were held in perfect tolerance and charity. There was no breach of unity throughout the whole country, and the connection enjoyed a long period of peace and prosperity. At intervals of two or three years, our laborious minister made similar journeys to various parts of the country as long as he lived, and thus performed an amount of what we may call missionary duty which reminds us of the labors of Wesley, and even the Apostles themselves.

His latter days, however, were destined not to be so serene. Between the years 1810 and 1820 serious difficulties began to arise, terminating in a total disruption of that great Society for which he had labored for more than half a century. The blame of that disruption is attempted to be laid at his door. With how much reason, we shall see in the course of this article.

From the first establishment of Penn and the Quakers in America, a friendly correspondence had been kept up between them and their brethren in England, though there was no ecclesiastical connection or dependence. Each connection of affiliated societies was perfectly independent of the other. No doctrinal creed had ever

been proposed or assented to. The platform of their church, if church it may be called, was not *doctrinal*, but *practical*. George Fox commenced his public ministrations about the year 1648, and one of his first public declarations precludes all possibility, not only of forcing a creed upon the minds of men, but of trying any man's creed by the letter of Scripture. On a clergyman's saying that all doctrines, opinions, and religions are to be tried by the Holy Scriptures, he rose and exclaimed, "O, no! it is not the Scriptures, but the Holy Spirit, by which opinions and religions are to be tried, for it was the spirit that led thirty people into all truth, and gave them the knowledge of it." Accordingly, no creed was ever laid down by him or the Society as necessary to membership. His only peculiar doctrine, apart from the practical principles he enforced, was this doctrine of "*the inward light*" given to every man in such measure, that, if obeyed, it must necessarily lead him to salvation.

William Penn, the ablest and best educated of all the early Quakers, became a preacher of the sect in the year 1668. He was eminently acceptable and successful. Within a few years, he published a tract with this title: "The Sandy Foundation shaken, or those generally believed and applauded Doctrines, — One God subsisting in Three distinct and separate Persons, — The Impossibility of God's pardoning Sinners without a Plenary Satisfaction, — The Justification of Impure Persons by imputative Righteousness, — confuted from the Authority of Scripture and right Reason, by William Penn, a Builder on that Foundation that cannot be moved." A short time previous to the publication of this tract, William Penn had been accompanied by George Whitehead, another Quaker preacher of great eminence, in a public dispute, the subject of which was "Whether they owned one Godhead subsisting in three distinct and separate persons." Penn and Whitehead *denied* that this was a Scripture doctrine. This same Whitehead had an unquestioned standing and reputation among the Quakers, and had written nine-and-twenty pamphlets in defence of their tenets.

We hear of no outcry of heresy raised against these men. There was no "disownment" by their brethren. It is fair to conclude, then, that there was *no* doctrinal

test then proposed or submitted to in the Society. Persons of every variety of opinion as to the Trinity, the nature of Christ, and the Atonement, were acknowledged as Friends, were listened to as preachers, wrote books for the defence of the sect, and enjoyed all the privileges of membership. Fox himself was an Arian, and, if he had lived in the time of the Council of Nice, would have been excommunicated from the dominant church of that day as a heretic. We have every reason for believing that the same diversities of speculative belief were perpetuated, and have prevailed among the Society from that day to this. No creed has ever been invented sufficiently stringent to produce uniformity in any branch of the Christian Church. Much less can we suppose that there was any uniformity among the Quakers, who had no public creed at all.

In the course of time, however, great changes took place in the outward condition of the Quakers of England. They were at first chiefly a rural and agricultural people, simple in their habits, and principally belonging to the middle, the laboring, and mechanical classes. Those who possessed real estate were sadly harassed, in various ways, on account of their religious principles. Especially were they annoyed by being compelled to pay *tithes* to the Established Church. Vexatious and expensive lawsuits were accumulated upon them, till many of them were induced to quit the country, and come and live in cities. Here they engaged in trade, merchandise, and banking. Many of them, with their frugal, prudent, and industrious habits, became rich. With their riches they changed their associations and their modes of living, and of course their sentiments and feelings. The broad brim began to be seen in splendid carriages, in lofty mansions, and surrounded by luxuries.

It is said that in England no Dissenting family drives its carriage more than two generations. By the third generation, their acquaintances all belong to the Church, their carriage is driven to the door of the great Mother of all, and their wealth goes to patch up the broken-down fortunes of some dissipated scion of the nobility. The Quakers fared somewhat differently. They were drawn in through their benevolence and philanthropic enterprise.

To their everlasting honor it ought to be said, that the followers of George Fox and William Penn were the earliest, most zealous, and efficient advocates of the abolition of the slave trade. They labored for many years in the cause, almost single-handed. After the attention of the British nation had been thoroughly roused, they were joined by such men as Clarkson and Wilberforce. Clarkson was thus brought to cultivate such a thorough acquaintance with the Quakers that he became their historian and eulogist. About the commencement of this century, the politicians took up the cause, a sure sign that it was becoming popular. At the eleventh hour came in the Church. The Established clergy, with the bishops at their head, suddenly discovered the enormity of a traffic which had been going on uncensured under their eyes from time immemorial.

As the clergy could not monopolize the popularity which grew out of this humane and most Christian enterprise, against the testimony of recent history, they were content to share it with its original projectors and advocates. But the joint labor gave rise to a most singular and portentous amalgamation. In the origin of Quakerism, nothing can be conceived of more antipodal than a Churchman and a follower of George Fox. A shepherd was not more abominable to an Egyptian, than an Episcopalian to a Quaker. If a broad-brim was ever allowed to get angry, it was when he saw the paraphernalia and the doings in "a steeple-house." But the lamb was seen at last to lie down with the lion, the Quakers and the bishops were seen side by side on the same platform, and both doubtless "deemed their dignity increased"; and without any apparent consciousness of inconsistency, the Quaker found himself in close affiliation with petitioners to Parliament to station public vessels of war on the coast of Africa, with powder and ball, with pike and sword, with halter and bayonet, to *persuade* those pirates of land and sea to give up their infernal traffic.

There was another possible cause for the reconciliation of English Quakers with the Episcopal Church. Of late years, the English constitution may be said to stand on three legs, the aristocracy, the Church, and the public debt. Knock either of them out from under the tripod, and it must inevitably fall to the ground. Some of the

Quakers, being bankers, have amassed princely fortunes, and every rich man in England becomes sooner or later interested in the funds. A part of his fortune at least is invested in the public debt, and as the tripod is a unit, he becomes just so far interested in the safety of the other legs. He of course is led to believe in the usefulness, if not in the sanctity, of the man in the black gown and lawn sleeves. We are not so uncharitable as to believe that such a motive as this could altogether reconcile a real Quaker to the Church, but we can easily conceive, such is the weakness of our nature, that it has had something to do with bringing about the amalgamation between the parties in Great Britain.

But whatever the causes, certain it is that, in the first fifteen years of this century, a strange revolution had taken place in the feelings of the Quakers towards the Established Church. A wonderful metamorphosis had taken place in the Quakers themselves. Some of them, as, for instance, Joseph John Gurney, have been educated at the universities. There a spirit has ever prevailed as opposite to the principles of George Fox as darkness is to day. So totally aberrated did Gurney become from the original testimony, that he wrote a book on "The History, Authority, and Use of the Sabbath." This book has been republished in this country at an Orthodox theological seminary, and a copy of the republication lies now before us. Any one who reads the writings of this gentleman will pronounce, we think, that he has tried the experiment, with how little of Quakerism a man may be allowed to retain the name. Coleridge, an acute observer of men and things, makes a remark to this effect: that "nothing now remains of the Quaker, the English Quaker of course, but the shell."

With this declension from the original principles of the Friends, and intimate association with Episcopacy, there sprang up among them a spirit of dogmatism, a disposition to set up and maintain a set of abstract speculations, a disposition, in short, to form and enforce a *creed*. The spirit of George Fox was essentially that of religious freedom. He formed no creed, which he might have done, when he formed his followers into a religious association. His testimonies were *practical*, and practical alone, and had reference to the practical abuses of

the times. His platform was *personal piety*. Deep feeling in religion tends to *unite* people, not to *separate* them, and is therefore wholly averse to the spirit of dogmatism. Let two men of real piety come together, under the influence of some remarkable providence, which deeply stirs their religious sensibility, and they will say little about dogmas. They will rather abstain from mentioning those points of doctrine in which they disagree. They will dwell only on that common ground which underlies all personal piety. It is only when their religious feelings have cooled, that they find it in their hearts to discuss those debatable matters concerning which one good man may differ from another.

The English Church is essentially dogmatic. Its liturgy contains the two most ancient creeds, which men devised in times of ignorance and barbarism to dragoon dissent into conformity. Once a year must all its officials read out that prodigy of absurdities, the Athanasian Creed, which begins with denouncing damnation on every man who does not receive a tissue of paradoxes. The Thirty-nine Articles are conceived in the same spirit. Those who read or hear such outrages on Christian liberty are too apt to lose their sense of the stupendous wrong they do to the soul.

Hitherto entire freedom had reigned in the Quaker Church. In America, uninterrupted harmony had prevailed. Elias Hicks, as we have already seen, by a long life of devoted services, had won the confidence and esteem of all. Whatever might have been his individual sentiments, there was nothing of them in his preaching, and there is no evidence that he ever attempted to make a proselyte. And so might the Society have gone on in perfect harmony to the present hour, had they not been disturbed from abroad.

As early as the year 1811, a scheme began to be agitated in England for a more close union of the Friends in that country and in America, for some purposes not specified, into one grand confederation. The proposition was distinctly opened to an American Quaker then in England. Suspecting the purpose of the movement, and knowing the independent spirit of his countrymen, he gave the project no encouragement.

In the course of a few years, measures began to be

taken to carry this scheme into effect. Delegations of able and accomplished men and women began to come over, and mingle freely with their brethren and sisters on this side the water. Wherever they went, it was found that they left behind them the spirit of disunion and discontent. Friends and neighbors, who had lived their whole lives together in peace, began to look on each other with suspicion and distrust. Parties began to be formed, and inquisition to be made into the private opinions of this man and that man on various theological subjects.

It was gradually discovered that all these emissaries, without exception, were of the high orthodox stamp. They believed in the necessity of a creed, they believed perhaps in the Thirty-nine Articles, and some of them, apparently, in a good deal more. Their main object was to bring about a union of the whole Quaker body, as we have already stated. It was projected that delegates from all the yearly meetings should meet in London, and agree on a code of discipline, which should be binding on all, and incapable of being changed, except by mutual consent.

It is impossible to say what this code would have been, but, from the spirit of those engaged in the attempt that was made in Philadelphia in the year 1823, we hazard little in asserting that it would have contained a creed, and of the strongest type of orthodoxy.

The scheme, however, met with little favor anywhere except in Philadelphia. There it gained a considerable number of advocates. But the country members, who composed by far the larger number of that body, utterly repudiated it. In the year 1817, a numerous delegation from the members of that yearly meeting attended the yearly meeting in Baltimore, to secure the concurrence of that body in the contemplated union. There they broached the subject. As it happened, Elias Hicks was at the meeting, and when the matter was proposed, he rose and denounced it as perilous to the Christian liberties of the American Quakers; and so great was his influence, and so powerful his reasoning, that the matter fell dead. Such was then the influence of Elias Hicks throughout the country, won by nearly fifty years of hard and faithful services, that a much less questionable scheme would have been defeated by his opposition. It *was* defeated,

but from that hour Elias was a doomed man. From that day till his death, to use his own expressive language, "he was a mark to be shot at on all sides." All at once it was discovered that this eminent individual, to whom the whole body had been accustomed to look up as a saint, was a very defective character. He had been all the time a wolf in sheep's clothing. While he had seemed to be edifying the Church and converting men to God, he had been sowing the seeds of deism and infidelity. At any rate, it was said, he denied the Divinity of Christ, and the atoning sacrifice of his blood. But while they thus denied him to be a saint, they exalted him into a martyr. While they created a party against him, they endeared him to his friends, and made his preaching much more an object of curiosity than it had ever been before. Crowds flocked to hear him wherever he went. It does not appear that he had ever preached a doctrinal sermon in his life, or had taken any pains to propagate his peculiar opinions. Nor did he much alter his course now to confute the calumnies that were circulated against him. But thousands who had never examined the subject were led to inquire what the doctrines were that Elias was accused of holding, and their inquiries ended in adopting them. Those who coincided with him in opinion were called, by way of reproach, "Hicksites." Hence the denomination, "Hicksite Quakers."

From 1817 to 1825, parties assumed a more and more decided character. Large delegations from England continued to come over to pursue the work of division and alienation. Elias Hicks continued to preach with increasing reputation and acceptance. Such a curiosity prevailed concerning him, that it became a profitable speculation to take down in short hand, and publish, a volume of his sermons. This is the first work mentioned at the commencement of this article. A volume of twelve discourses was printed in 1825, and obtained an extensive circulation. They are, we presume, only fair specimens of his ordinary manner. They are pervaded by deep seriousness, and seem to be inspired with an earnest desire to do good. The first discourse was "delivered at Philadelphia, at Friends' meeting-house, Mulberry Street,

on first day afternoon, 14th eleventh month, 1824." It commences thus: —

"There is one thing necessary in this crowded assembly, and that is for us individually to endeavor to be still. The importance and seriousness of the occasion demand it.

"I am induced to observe, that, since we have been sitting together, my mind has been led to an impressive sense of the excellence and power of Divine love, — pure, undefiled love; for what is there, my friends, that it cannot effect? I was ready to say, that it could do any thing that man could want to be done. It stops the mouth of the lion, it quiets every savage disposition in man, and brings him into that state of which the prophet speaks when he says, 'The lion and the lamb shall lie down together.' We are told that it fulfils the law. I believe it may be said to fulfil all law. It is a very clear, rational proposition, that every reflecting mind must understand and see; because it can have no other motive than to do good, no other aim but to promote truth and righteousness, and therefore every obligation that attaches to us as reasonable and social beings is within the compass and power of love to effect, and to put in practice."

Towards the close of the discourse he commends the reading of the Scriptures, but subjoins the Quaker doctrine of the illumination of the Spirit.

"Search the Scriptures, as we read the Bereans did, and see whether these things are so. But you cannot know them merely by reading them, but as you are directed by the light of the Divine Spirit. Under the influence of that Spirit, you may not only read and understand them, but you will be confirmed thereby. This Spirit led the ancients, and it will lead us. Our experience will correspond, when we come to understand this. Our doctrines will be alike brought forth out of the treasury."

He closed his discourse, somewhat against Quaker usage, with an audible prayer.

"Gracious and adorable God, in the riches of thy mercy look down upon thy poor creature, man. Be pleased, Lord, to bless and sanctify this opportunity to all present, if consistent with thy will. Thou knowest, gracious God, that we of ourselves can do nothing. We are clothed in weakness. Thou knowest that the work is thine, and that the power is thine. Graciously condescend to strengthen us and quicken us to come near unto thee, — to draw near unto thee, and cast down our crowns at thy footstool. Strengthen the weak and disconsolate soul; lift up the head that is ready to hang down, and confirm the feeble knee.

Help us more and more to draw together, to turn unto thee with thanksgiving and glory, who remainest to be God over all blessed for ever and evermore."

Such preaching and such devotions could not be very perilous to men's souls, and it was hard for his enemies to find occasion of speech against him, or to shake his standing in society. Little was openly done against him, but secret calumnies were spread concerning him with the greatest industry. It is said by those who know, that spies were sent out to accompany him as his friends in his journeys, to catch something by which to work his ruin.

In the years from 1824 to 1827, the parties in Philadelphia became more and more distinctly marked, and proceeded from alienation to utter estrangement, and, with the views entertained by the English party, a division became inevitable. They insisted on *a doctrinal test*, and on the exclusion of those who did not come up to it. The main points were, *the Deity of Christ* and *a vicarious atonement*, and in a city founded by William Penn, by whom both doctrines were rejected and confuted, a large majority were disowned by a small minority, as having departed from the faith, because they believed precisely as he had done.

The *spirit* in which these things were done was quite as bad as the things themselves. The following article was added to their Church discipline, soon after the separation. It reminds us first of the Inquisition, and secondly of the curses pronounced by the Jews against the great secession of the followers of Christ.

"If any of our members should attend the meetings of those who have separated from us, and who have set up meetings contrary to the order and discipline of our religious society, or should attend any of the marriages accomplished among the said people, or sign the certificates issued on those occasions, as it is giving countenance to and acknowledging those meetings, as though they were the meetings of Friends, this meeting declares that such conduct is of evil tendency, and repugnant to the harmony and well-being of our religious society; and when such instances occur, Friends are desired to extend brotherly care and labor, that the individuals may be instructed and reclaimed, and if those endeavors prove ineffectual, monthly meetings should testify against them."

In Baltimore the division was brought about in a manner still more disreputable, and was attended by circumstances which plainly indicated the source whence this calamitous schism originated, and the agency by which it was effected.

In the month of October, 1828, the Baltimore yearly meeting convened as usual. It commenced its sessions on Monday morning, and continued its regular business until Wednesday afternoon. George Jones, a travelling minister from England, and a considerable number of the orthodox members of the Philadelphia meeting, were also in attendance. It was remarked that these individuals, with George Jones and a very few of the members of the Baltimore yearly meeting, met every evening in conclave, at the house of one of their party, and sometimes remained until a very late hour; and that they also met several mornings at the same place, whence they proceeded in a body to the meeting-house, arriving there after the meeting had been some time together.

The Philadelphia yearly meeting had been divided some months before this time. There were on the clerk's table several minutes and certificates brought by members who were present from other yearly meetings. These were read and accepted, and a committee was appointed to place indorsements upon them, recognizing their acceptance. Among these certificates there were some from both of the meetings of Friends into which the Society had now become divided, and in receiving these no discrimination was made. Upon the opening of the meeting in the afternoon, George Jones, a member of the London yearly meeting, rose, and, after referring in an excited speech to this proceeding, he said, "that it was clear to him that the meeting had departed from the original ground of the Society in receiving these certificates. It now became proper that all who might desire to continue their connection with *the ancient yearly meeting of London* should withdraw forthwith, and seek a place where they might maintain themselves in that connection." He then added, "*I shall now leave this meeting.*" Whereupon, in a hurried manner, he proceeded to the door and went out. One individual only responded to his invitation, and followed him. The meeting was thunderstruck; not a word was spoken for

some minutes. When the members had recovered from their surprise, they continued their business without further interruption at that time.

It had long been a practice of the Quaker yearly meetings to severally address epistles of correspondence to each other, in which such matters as were deemed reciprocally interesting were communicated. Such epistles had at this time been forwarded to the Baltimore yearly meeting from both the divisions of the Society into which it had become separated; these were received and read.

It now appeared that the reading of an epistle in the yearly meeting of Baltimore from that portion of the Society of Friends who had been proscribed by the orthodox party in Philadelphia, had in conclave been made by their party then in attendance a test question, which was to decide the course of that party in regard to this meeting. Thus an irresponsible, self-created junta, mostly not members of the Baltimore yearly meeting, proceeded to decide for that meeting what papers should or should not be read by it. Accordingly, just as the clerk was about to read the adjourning minute of this session, in which the epistles in question had been read, one of the orthodox party rose and said, "*It has been arranged*, that, should the Philadelphia disorderly epistle be read, those dissatisfied with its reception will meet to-morrow morning, at nine o'clock, in the McKendrean School-house, on the next square above." Two of the party went into the women's meeting and gave the same notice.

Among all the records of religious arrogance, intolerance, and persecution, there is scarcely a parallel to be found to this proceeding. No immorality, no declension from the ancient discipline of the sect, no unsoundness of doctrine, was ever alleged against the Baltimore yearly meeting, or its members. Their whole offence consisted in receiving a paper from each division of a sister society, with which they had been in amicable communion for many generations!

For this offence, the unity of a yearly meeting of Friends which had existed ever since 1672, and at the organization of which George Fox himself is said to have been present, was broken up. Nothing but the

kindest feelings had ever been cherished among its members, until this firebrand of dissension was thrown in among them by foreign incendiaries.

The presumption of this proceeding will appear the more glaring, when we consider the smallness of the number engaged in it. All told, they were, when separately convened, ascertained to be but seventy-six, of whom nearly one half were not members of the Baltimore yearly meeting, but persons in attendance from other yearly meetings. The number they left behind was more than nine hundred. The first thing they did, on coming together, was to violate the Quaker rule of proceeding, by a *viva voce* election of clerk, and they then proceeded to antedate their minutes three days! But one representative of the whole number appointed to attend that yearly meeting was present among the seceders.

But notwithstanding the smallness of their number, they proceeded to style themselves "the Yearly Meeting of Friends for the Western Shore of Maryland, and the adjacent parts of Pennsylvania and Virginia," and they presumed to exercise the supreme judicial function of excommunication and disownment towards all who did not follow them! This proceeding appears not only unchristian, but absurd, when we consider the fact, that, of the fifty-four representatives to that meeting, they carried but one with them, while the Baltimore yearly meeting is composed of upwards of fifty subordinate bodies, who were all duly represented in it.

In country places, their show of numbers was still smaller, and in some meetings they had not a single follower. This was generally the case in all the Middle and Western States. But everywhere the same arrogance and denunciatory spirit was exhibited.

Thus was consummated the grand division of the American Quakers, one of the saddest events in the records of ecclesiastical history. Who was to blame for it, the world and posterity must judge. The agency that Elias Hicks had in it we have already seen. That he never entertained such a purpose is as clear to us as the light of day. It is wholly improbable that such a thought entered his mind for the first forty years of his ministry. There is no evidence that any change ever took place in his theological opinions. Certain it is, that there is not a

word of his teaching, as far as recorded, which seems to have for its object to make proselytes to this opinion or that. And even after he was assailed, there is no appearance of his ever having attempted a formal defence or a labored justification. His preaching was still practical, solemn, and affectionate, never disputatious. The epithet "Hicksite Quaker" seems to throw on him the odium of sectarianism, and the blame of having created a schism in the sect to which he belonged, but no imputation could be more unjust. It seems likewise to reproach them who coincided with him in opinion with having been led away from their faith by some novelty of doctrine. But it is not so. The great body of the Society of Friends had entertained the same opinions since the days of William Penn. As far as the real peculiarities of the Quakers were concerned, there never was a truer follower of George Fox than Elias Hicks. In this respect, the Joneses and the Gurneys and the Braithwaites were not worthy to sit at his feet. His testimonies against war, oaths, slavery, intemperance, vanity, and a superstitious regard to outward ordinances, were frequent, decided, and ample. No man was ever more strenuous on the doctrine of the inward light imparted to all mankind. But Quakerism had nothing to do with creeds and dogmatic, scholastic theology. The real cause of the split of the denomination was the attempt to enforce a CREED. From the time of Constantine to the present day, the effect of the attempt to force the belief of the majority upon the minority has been to scatter the flock of Christ. Much more might it be expected when the attempt is made, as in this case, to force the opinions of the minority upon the majority.

In this case, two points of doctrine were chosen on which it is most dangerous to dogmatize, — the metaphysical nature of Christ, and the nature of the Atonement, — points upon which scarcely two Christians can be found whose opinions precisely coincide. Neither of these points has any thing to do directly with the substance of Christianity. It made no part of Christ's mission to reveal what he was metaphysically. Sacrifice, in a literal sense, is not a Christian idea. It belonged to Judaism. In Judaism there was a priesthood, there were sacrifices appointed by God. But Christianity was

a spiritual and intellectual religion. "The flesh," says Christ, "profiteth nothing. The *words* that I speak unto you, they are spirit and they are life." Christ came to impart unto us his spirit. That spirit was most powerfully exhibited in his death. But none but the coarsest and most unspiritual mind can believe that the literal blood of Christ could procure the forgiveness of sins in the sense of expiating them. These are all figures of speech drawn from the old dispensation, and are used because the Gospel was first preached to the Jews, who were accustomed to sacrifices and the language which belonged to them. A superficial reader might at first suppose that a different doctrine was taught in the Epistle to the Hebrews, as when the writer says:—

"Neither by the blood of goats and calves, but by his own blood, he entered in once into the holy place, having obtained eternal redemption for us. For if the blood of bulls and of goats, and the ashes of an heifer sprinkling the unclean, sanctifieth to the purifying of the flesh, how much more shall the blood of Christ, who through his immortal spirit offered himself without spot to God, purge your conscience from dead works to serve the living God?"— ix. 12 – 14.

But a little consideration will be sufficient to show that this argument is *rhetorical*, and not logical. Indeed, the whole Epistle is rhetorical, and is intended to be so. It is accommodated to Jewish opinions and modes of thought. That the argument for the priesthood of Christ has no logical force may be readily seen in the fact, that it turns on so fanciful a circumstance as Levi's paying tithes to Melchizedek, because he was in the loins of Abraham when he in this manner did homage to the king and priest of Salem! And then it may be said, that, without penitence on the part of the sinner, neither type nor antetype could have any effect to procure his forgiveness. They both, therefore, become merely the external symbols of the mercy of God. They *express* God's clemency; they do not procure it.

On this subject, Elias Hicks seems to have entertained the most enlightened ideas. In a letter to Nathan Shoemaker of Philadelphia, of the date of 1823, there occurs the following passage:—

"And inasmuch as those idle promulgators of the doctrine of

original sin believe they are made sinners without their consent or knowledge, which according to the nature and reason of things every rational mind sees is impossible, so likewise they are idle and ignorant enough to believe they are made righteous without their consent or knowledge by the righteousness of one who lived on the earth near two thousand years before they had an existence, and this by the cruel act of wicked men, slaying an innocent and a righteous one; and they are bold and daring enough to lay this cruel and unholy act to the charge of Divine Justice, as having purposely ordained it to be so. But what an outrage it is against every righteous law of God and man, as the Scriptures abundantly testify: 'Keep thee far from a false matter, and the innocent and righteous slay thou not, for I will not justify the wicked'; 'Cursed be he that taketh a reward to slay an innocent person'; and much more might be produced to show the wickedness and absurdity of the doctrine, that would accuse a perfectly just, all-wise, and merciful Jehovah, of so barbarous and cruel an act as that of slaying his innocent and righteous Son to atone for the sins and iniquities of the ungodly.

"Surely is it possible that any rational being that has any right sense of justice or mercy, would be willing to accept of forgiveness of his sins on such terms? Would he not rather go forward and offer himself wholly up to suffer all the penalties due to his crimes, rather than that the innocent should suffer. Nay, was he so hardy as to acknowledge a willingness to be saved through such a medium, would it not prove that he stood in direct opposition to every principle of justice and honesty, of mercy and love, and show himself to be a poor, selfish creature, unworthy of notice?"

Such were the sentiments which have been cherished by a large majority of the Quakers in America since the time of Penn. They were growing not only among them, but among every other denomination of Christians. Time would fail us to enumerate the various schemes which have been devised to modify and mitigate the enormity of the common doctrine of vicarious punishment among all sects. And yet this was one of the doctrines selected to form the basis of a creed, to be forced upon the consciences and convictions of Friends in America. That foreign emissaries, brought up under the slavery of an Established Church, and accustomed to see subscription to the Thirty-nine Articles exacted as a condition to civil rights, should have conceived such an idea, may seem possible, but that Americans, who are accustomed to religious, as well as civil freedom, should

have been found willing to acquiesce in it, seems wholly unaccountable.

As to the other point upon which the attempt was made to enforce a creed, there has been a still greater diversity in the Christian Church. We have said, that the metaphysical nature of Christ has nothing to do, directly, with Christianity. It makes no part of Christian faith to believe this or that concerning Christ's rank in the universe. There have been good Christians who have placed him at every point from simple humanity up to supreme Divinity. Indeed, upon this point extremes meet. In fact, the highest Trinitarian is separated by only a thin partition from the simplest Humanitarian. Both admit Christ's perfect human nature, that he had a human body and a human soul. Both admit some species of identification with the Deity. Both admit that he spoke a high truth when he said, "I and my Father are one," "He that hath seen me, hath seen the Father." The only difference is, that they adopt different phraseology in explaining the *manner* of this identification. One says that the Second Person of the Trinity dwelt in him and made a part of his person, but still admits that the Second Person is in essence identically the same with the First Person, or the whole Deity. The other maintains, that God dwelt in him without any distinction of persons. It is confessed by those who use the word *person* to express the three distinctions in the Divine nature, that they attach no definable idea to the word. Then, if they are candid, they must confess that the whole dispute goes out in mere words, and Trinitarianism and Humanitarianism become identical at last.

The Arian hypothesis differs much more from each of these than they do from each other. Although seeming at first sight to satisfy some passages of the New Testament much better than the others, it is found on the whole to encounter much greater difficulties, not only in words, but in things. For instance, if, in the first chapter of John's Gospel, you interpret "the Word" to mean a person, you are driven to this dilemma; to say either that the Creator of the world is not the Supreme God, and that the world was created by a subordinate being, or that the Supreme God is not our immediate Creator, and of course we have nothing to do with him.

Then the sonship of Christ, when carried back into eternity, creates inextricable difficulty, both in the Arian and high Trinitarian schemes. It does not seem consistent with the first principles of theism, that the world should have been created by a being who is *himself* created or derived. And on the other hand, *eternal* sonship seems to be a flat self-contradiction. All these difficulties are avoided if we explain Christ's sonship as he explains it himself. "The Jews answered, saying, For a good work we stone thee not, but for blasphemy, and because thou, being a man, makest thyself God. Jesus answered them, Is it not written in your law, I said ye are gods? If he called them gods unto whom the word of God came, and the Scriptures cannot be broken, say ye of him whom the Father hath sanctified and sent into the world, Thou blasphemest, because I said, I am the Son of God?" His sonship is here by himself put upon the ground of his *mission*, and has no respect to his nature or origin whatever. He is the Son of God, not on account of the way in which he came into the world, or what he was before he came into the world, but simply because he was consecrated and set apart to the office of the Messiah, of which the term "Son of God" in the New Testament is generally a mere synonyme or equivalent.

This was precisely the view of Christ's nature which seems to have been satisfactory to Elias Hicks. In an "Essay on the Birth and Office of Christ," written about the year 1821, we have the following language: —

"And secondly, after having finished the law, John's water-baptism being the last ritual he had to conform to, he immediately after this received the descendings of the Holy Spirit of God upon him, agreeably to the above prophecy of Isaiah, by which he became partaker of the Divine nature of his Heavenly Father, and by this spiritual birth became the Son of God with power, and thereby qualified for his Gospel ministry, and went forth clothed with the spirit and the power of God, preaching the Gospel to the poor."

Such were the views of Elias Hicks on the Atonement and the nature of Christ. They were identical, as far as we can judge, with those of William Penn, and we are informed on the best authority, that they have been held by a large majority of the Quakers from his time to the present. That Penn's writings had much to do in the

formation of his opinions would appear from the phraseology of the following extract of a letter to William Poole of Delaware, of the date of 1822.

"Add to that, the many false reports and unjust insinuations that have been spread concerning me. I have been slandered, reviled, and defamed by pulpit, press, and talk, not only by open opposers, but also by some more privately, who profess to be my friends, terming me a deist, a seducer, Socinian, Unitarian, denying the Divinity of Christ the Saviour, and what not. And all because I have faithfully and honestly borne testimony against the false and unscriptural, though generally acknowledged and applauded doctrines of one God, subsisting in three distinct and separate persons; the impossibility of God's pardoning sinners without a plenary satisfaction, and the justification of impure persons by imputed righteousness." *

If we have accomplished in any measure the end we have proposed to ourselves in this article, the reader is now able to appreciate the character, talents, opinions, and achievements of Elias Hicks. He will comprehend the relation he sustained, first to the whole denomination of Friends, and afterwards to that portion of them to which his name has been attached. He must perceive, we think, that Elias must be acquitted of all purpose of dividing the sect to which he belonged, and that no division would ever have taken place, had there been no interference from abroad. He will be convinced that the division was produced by a spirit, not only foreign to the sect in this country, but foreign to the fundamental principles of Quakerism and of George Fox. It was the spirit of ORTHODOXY, a spirit from the beginning presuming, inquisitorial, domineering, and persecuting. He will be more than ever convinced of the folly of exalting matters of opinion into matters of faith. There always has been, and probably always will be, a variety of opinion as to the metaphysical nature of Christ. Common readers of the Bible will continue, perhaps, for ages to come, to interpret literally words and phrases which were understood in a figurative sense in the time of Christ. And so it is in the matter of the Atonement. Illustration and comparison will be considered as expressing the substance of Christianity. And so it is with many other doctrines. There is no remedy for this. Little evil will

* This is almost the title of Penn's "Sandy Foundation Shaken."

spring out of this diversity of opinion, so long as opinion is suffered to remain free. But the greatest evils will always follow the course of conduct pursued by the orthodox Quakers. There will be contention, alienation, division, and every evil work.

We would observe, in closing this somewhat long article, that the speculations of George Fox lead the mind directly into some of the most interesting questions which are agitating the mind of the Christian world in our own day, — *the origin of our religious ideas*, — are they innate or acquired? do they come from inspiration or revelation? do they come from the spontaneous exercise of our faculties, or are they traditionary, and derived from some primitive revelation? What is the true position of the Sacred Scriptures? are they the clearest outshining of the light that lighteth every man that cometh into the world, or are they immediate revelations from God, ideas communicated from the Divine Mind, and not excited by Divine direction of the laws of nature in the mind of man? These are some of the profoundest and most interesting inquiries which can engage the mind of man. They remain as yet almost wholly untouched.

It is to be regretted that a sect which has produced so many profound, independent, and original thinkers as the Quakers, should have produced so few writers. Great truths lay at the bottom of the reform which they attempted to introduce. They have never obtained a full and formal development.

While engaged in writing this article, we have met with an interesting pamphlet, composed, as we are told, by a gentleman of Quaker education, in the very line of inquiry which we have just pointed out. The pamphlet is entitled, "Observations on Mental Phenomena, as connected with the Philosophy of Divine Revelation." It takes the ground, that religious ideas are the product of immediate revelation from God to every human soul. He advocates spiritualism in opposition to the sensuous system of Locke and Paley, and brings forward new and striking proof of the uniformity and universality of religious convictions among all nations and tribes of mankind. We commend the pamphlet to our readers, as interesting, timely, and able. G. W. B.

Art. II. — THE GERMAN IN AMERICA.*

Guyot, in his volume which may fitly be called the poetry of geography, has compared the American continent to the lithe and graceful form of woman, and Europe to the square and solid figure of man. The problem of history then becomes a love tale, turning upon the courtship and marriage of fair America by stout Europe. It has been generally supposed that the question was pretty well decided, and that the Anglo-Saxon was the favored party, — repelled and coquetted with a little at first, but finally accepted and put in full possession of all of the bride's goods. Many and powerful rivals there were, the impassioned Italian, the stately Spaniard, the graceful Frenchman, each urging his claim on some grounds peculiarly his own. Yet the plain and sturdy Englishman carried the day. Planting his foot first on the North American continent, he never lost sight of his priority of claim, and almost every year has seen the plan or the fact of some encroachment upon the Frenchman on the North and the Spaniard on the South. Less and less are the pretensions of the countrymen of Verrazzani and De Leon in our land; the nation of Columbus and Vespucci never had a colony here; whilst time is constantly extending the empire which Sebastian Cabot, himself English-born, although of Italian parentage, began for England by his voyage of 1497, and which all the English colonists, whatever their creed or party, have secured to the English language and literature. On both sides of the ocean it has been taken for granted that the Anglo-Saxon is lord of this continent, and the mother country has been willing to forgive her boy his runaway freak, in consideration of his doing so well on his own account as to reflect credit upon his parent. Of late, however, there have been signs of a turn in the tide of opinion; at least, some powerful eddies have set against

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* 1. *The German in America, or Advice and Instruction for German Emigrants in the United States of America.* By F. W. Bogen, Pastor in Boston, Mass.

2. *Der Deutsche Kirchenfreund. Organ für die gemeinsamen Interessen der Americanish-deutschen Kirchen.* Herausgegeben von Philipp Schaff. Mercersburg, Pa. 1851.

the main current. Two races have come forward to challenge the sway of the Englishman, and to quarrel with his favorite plea for the Anglo-Saxon. Each of these races numbers more people on our shores than our whole nation had at the close of the war of independence, and, combined or separate, they present problems too little pondered by our statesmen and moralists. We refer, of course, to the Irish and the Germans, — two races in origin, disposition, creed, and manners singularly diverse, yet agreeing in their passion for democracy and their jealousy of English ways. The growing influence of the Irish has not been overlooked. As the propagandists of Romanism, they have alarmed our Protestant champions; as democrats, they have engaged the affections of our politicians; as laborers, they have built our roads and canals; and as paupers, they have overrun our almshouses. It is obvious now that they are to be as jealous of their Celtic blood as of their Romish creed, and elections, speeches, and presses bear ample testimony to both feelings. The President of the nation was asked last winter to dismiss the British ambassador for presuming in a dinner speech to make a joke upon the old Celtic costume, and one of the orators at a late academic commencement favored the audience with a two hours' philippic against the pride of the Anglo-Saxons.*

But the Germans in America have been comparatively overlooked. Numbering with their descendants some four millions, they amount to about a tenth part of the population of the states of the German empire, a fourth part of the population of Prussia, and a sixth of the inhabitants of our own republic. More than six years ago Von Raumer and others estimated the number at more than three millions, and since that time the emigration has been very great, especially in 1847, when seventy thousand Germans landed in New York alone. The emigration from Germany began in the time of Penn, towards the end of the seventeenth century, and in 1742

* We are by no means fond of the frequent glorification of the Anglo-Saxon race. The term itself is a misnomer, and the word Anglo-Germanic, which is used by the scholars of Continental Europe, is more correct, as well as comprehensive, embracing as it does all of Germanic origin, whether Saxon, Dane, Swede, Dutch, &c., who have engrafted Gothic scions upon the English stock.

there were about one hundred thousand Germans in Pennsylvania.

We resist the ready temptation to treat the topic historically, and to trace the relation of the various classes of emigrants to the state of German thought at the time of their coming. We aim only to write a few pages upon the present condition and prospects of this numerous and increasing class of residents in our country. Mr. Bogen's book, in its very plan, shows how important he thinks it is to resist the foreign prejudices which his countrymen bring with them, and to familiarize them with American speech, government, and men. His work is written both in English and German, to serve as a reader and a manual of advice to new-comers. He cautions his countrymen against false notions of freedom, sociality, and dignity, teaches them the true grounds of success and enjoyment in their new home, lays before them the American Constitution in full, and closes with a brief and judicious sketch of the lives of our two most popular men, Washington and Franklin. Dr. Schaff's learned and interesting journal affords us hints which we shall freely use, without further reference to his pages, whilst our main dependence for information is upon personal observation of the German press and people in this country.

As a branch of the same great family as the Anglo-Saxons, and having the same essential qualities of independence, domesticity, and rugged manhood, Protestants as they moreover are generally, the Germans might be supposed to coalesce readily with the American people. But on second thought, there appear many obstacles to their union. The first, of course, is the barrier of language. The German language, although nearly akin to the Saxon element of the English, is harder to learn than the French, Spanish, or Italian, and, of course, can never be acquired extensively by our own people. Although the Germans seem to acquire our language more easily than we do theirs, they have always had a great disposition to retain their own tongue and slight the English, — a disposition never more prominent than at present, carried so far, in fact, in some cases, as to lead them to insist upon having German teachers in the public schools most frequented by their own children.

Their most judicious men see the folly of this prejudice, and advise them all to learn as soon as possible to speak English, and mingle freely in American affairs. But necessity is the most imperious teacher, and nothing is clearer than that trade, politics, and society are gradually displacing the old speech, and turning the greatest sticklers for the mother tongue into very tolerable Yankees. There are some German congregations whose ministers preach in English, and whose people are not readily to be distinguished from our own, whilst in German settlements which still retain the Germanic idiom, there is such an odd mixture of English words and phrases as to make a native German wish that they would abjure their own language altogether, instead of murdering it so abominably. An instance of this mongrel speech we have from the lips of a Pennsylvania German, who criticized several preachers that appeared in turn as candidates for the pulpit in this elegant style: — "*Be sure* es sind all smärte Kerl aber die kleine Krot, die biets sie *all to pieces*." The little prospect of retaining the German language as the current speech of emigrants is very obvious, when we learn that the best friends of German literature among them advise them to acquire the English as quickly as possible for general uses, and retain the German for literary and social enjoyment.

In point of social feeling, the German differs much from the Anglo-American. He is much more spontaneous in manner, less reserved, less careful of prerogative, more fond of amusement, less a follower of fashion. He is puzzled even by the words most frequent in American society, and has no terms the exact equivalent of lady and gentleman. The recent German newspapers are full of satires upon our social manners, and discharge no small quantity of their squibs at these very words. They jest at the disposition of the great mass of Americans to affect the airs of gentility, and to make of themselves *ladies and gentlemen*. Part of their merriment is justified by the degree of pretension among our people, yet not a little of it comes from mortification at seeing a standard of general politeness and domestic elegance far in advance of German society of equal position. The writer upon this subject in the *Kirchenfreund* allows that the superior grace and tact of American manners has had

much to do with breaking in upon German nationality, and winning young people over to American ways and feelings. The Germans, indeed, are superior to the Americans in a love of the beautiful arts that give society so much of its ornament. Their musical taste is quite distinguished, and both with the voice and instruments great numbers of them have a high degree of skill. Yet the social manners of their common people are comparatively little refined and subdued by such influences. Sometimes the most exquisite music is heard, we believe, in dance-houses, where refinement is an utter stranger, and the works of Beethoven and Mozart are performed, we learn, at Sunday concerts whose auditors in their dress and demeanor are far below the level of our native laboring class. A portion, indeed, of the apparent roughness of German manners among us comes from the fact, that so many of the wealthy and better educated Germans abstain from the ordinary assemblies of their own countrymen, and it is one of the bitter commonplaces of their newspapers that, as soon as a man gets money, he ceases to be known as a German. In what we have said of society, we have been speaking of the German people generally. We hardly need add, that some of the most refined and charming people we have ever known are Germans, and that our American manners need nothing so much as that mingling of cordiality with good sense which in the German is called by the untranslated word *Gemüth.*

As to their business habits and talents, whilst we do not feel qualified to give an opinion based on wide observation, we cannot but remark some traits that are upon the very surface. Coming from an inland country, much stinted in commercial enterprise, they have not generally the mercantile ambition so characteristic of nations upon the sea-coast, and accordingly most of their emigrants settle, as farmers, in the most fruitful regions of the Middle and Western States. Few are to be found at the South, for slavery is very odious to them, and not many in New England, for there the soil is little inviting, and the kind of labor called for is little to their liking. In our great Atlantic cities they are found in great numbers, there being between seventy and eighty thousand in the city of New York. There they perform a conspicuous part in

the business of the city. Any wayfarer may see that the larger portion of the retail grocer's business is passing into their hands, and especially that those stores at the corners of streets which furnish families with so many of the articles of sustenance are showing more and more German names on their signs. One reason of this increase is said to be the simpler habits of German families, which enable them to live so humbly as to undersell the native dealers. A considerable portion of the cabinet-makers of New York are Germans, and our mercantile friends inform us, that valuable branches of the importing and jobbing business are falling under their control. But notwithstanding their growing thrift and their considerable increase in wealth, nothing is more conspicuous in their newspapers than the habit of ridiculing the money-getting habits of Americans. The Sunday paper, which seems adapted best to the atmosphere of the beer-shop, jests at the plodding way of the Yankees, who have, it says, no heart for pleasure, no soul for music and the dance, slaving themselves through the six days of the week, and going to church on the seventh. A journal of more literary pretensions, lately established in New York, is one continued satire upon Yankee thrift, and, when not busy with demolishing Jesuits and pietists, is bearing down upon the vulgar utilitarianism of our business men. Even the satire of such organs shows the power of the thrift against which they declaim, for they are never so bitter as when speaking of the disposition of their own people to fall into Yankee habits, acquire property, and cut the acquaintance of their old boon companions. It is pretty certain, however, that the thriving subjects of this pleasantry will, in the long run, have the best of the joke, and be well able to laugh at the threadbare critics who spend their time in making fun, even of laudable industry.

In politics the American Germans are strongly democratic, and the new emigrants have a strong tinge of Socialism. Their leading political newspapers show little regard for our prevalent notions of republicanism, and call American Democracy a mongrel affair. In some cases they go very near Communism, and generally they are very radical on the questions of Land Reform. We have read passages in some of the more violent sheets

which deny apparently the right of private property, and suggest the experiment of a general division of goods among the people. We believe, however, that the German population is not fairly represented by their press, and that the number of radical papers has been disproportionately enlarged by the influx of refugees on fire with the Socialist fever of the last abortive revolution. All their papers that we have seen take a decided anti-slavery stand, and the most reasonable one that we know, the New York *Abend-Zeitung*, is edited very much in the spirit of the New York Evening Post, which bears the honored name of Bryant at its head. The political articles that we have read are interesting from their apparent frankness. They speak of our public men without the least reserve, and we judge that few of our politicians could read these criticisms upon their characters and position without finding themselves both amused and piqued. In fact, sincerity, entire frankness, seems to us to be generally a characteristic of this people. They say what they think and feel, without reserve, and often without discretion. This trait should be considered in judging their publications, for they bluntly state ultraisms which more wary Yankees might only hint. On the whole, we cannot, even with this qualification, speak with any favor of the prevalent spirit of the German press in this country. It is likely to be the chief curse of the people whose interests it pretends to favor. The whole bearing of Mr. Bogen's book, and the direct assertion of the *Kirchenfreund*, confirm our view.

But it is the religious aspect of the Germans in America that interests and troubles us most. The first settlers were men of the old-fashioned Protestant stamp, and although their church affairs were for years in a very chaotic state, they kept their reverence for Christian institutions, and welcomed the new life which Zinzendorf, Mühlenberg, and Schlatter brought with them, and by their efforts the foundation was laid severally for the Moravian Brethren, the Lutheran, and the Reformed Church, about the middle of the eighteenth century. The Mennonites, Tunkers, and Schwenkenfelders date from about the same time, whilst the other denominations have originated within the present century. The greater portion are nominally Protestant, but how many are properly church-

members cannot be told in the absence of sufficient statistics. The clergy may be estimated with more definiteness as about 2,000 in number, reckoning all denominations, and allowing 750 to the Lutherans, 1275 to the Reformed or Calvinistic, and 50 to the Evangelical United Church. We may estimate the churches at thrice the number of the preachers, or about 6,000, and the number of communicants as about 600,000, by the most reliable authority. This estimate shows a sad dearth of Christian privileges, and the impression is yet more sad when we remember that, for the 70,000 or 80,000 Germans in New York city, mostly Protestants, there are only some ten or twelve Protestant churches, and these not largely attended.

But the difficulty does not lie solely with the narrowness of church accommodations and the want of preachers. The most disheartening fact is the little inclination of a large portion of the Germans to sustain religious worship, or in any decided way to uphold Christian ideas and institutions. In this respect there is indeed a wide difference between the American Germans, the descendants of the early emigrants, and the European, who bring with them the lax notions of the recent forms of Continental infidelity. The early emigrants were chiefly of the old orthodox stamp, or else pietists of the school of Spener. In point of intellectual culture they and their children fall below the later emigrants, who have had the advantage of the new school systems of the German states, but in point of sobriety and faith they are far in advance of the latter. Many of them have sought in American churches the satisfaction which they could not find under the rude ministrations of the old order of German preachers; the Lutherans tending towards the Episcopal or Methodist sects, according as the ritual or pietistic element prompted, or social influences drew them; the Reformed or Calvinistic generally joining the Presbyterians. The great aim of their best theologians and teachers now is to stop this secession, and Dr. Schaff's journal, we suppose, leads the movement in behalf of the National German Church in America, aiming especially to enlighten and concentrate the scattered forces of the Lutheran, Reformed, and United Evangelical communions. No small task is this found to be now that

the heterogeneous elements to be brought together are shaken, and sometimes utterly confounded, by the revolutionary and infidel notions so rife among the recent emigrants. Whilst the type of religion held up by the dominant theologians of the Lutheran and Reformed Churches here is either a rigid adherence to the Augsburg Confession or the compound of Hegelian philosophy with the old church dogmatism into the Mercersberg form of Puseyism, the infidel leaders of the hosts who every year are now landing on our shores scatter their incendiary doctrines in newspapers which connect unbelief and sensualism with party passions and social jealousies. We do not believe that there is any press in the world so utterly radical and destructive as the German newspaper press in this country. Of some sixty journals, the majority assail every form of church institutions, make light of historical Christianity, in notorious cases deny the personality of God and the immortality of the soul, and teach the most thorough-going Epicureanism. Of four daily papers published in a single city, three ridicule every form of church association, deride those who support any clergy, and more than hint that material interests are our only reasonable concern. The Sunday papers are the worst, and in one of them we have seen an advertisement of a cheap edition of Paine's works, a translation of the Essene Letters, that last counterfeit assault on Christianity, the most ribald atheism, and the most violent repudiation of rights of property. The most literary of their newspapers, a weekly lately established, makes sport of the German emigrants who do any thing to help churches, and has specimens of voluptuous and Bacchanalian poetry that would be thought a disgrace to any American newspaper within our knowledge. The cause of this perverse tendency in so large a portion of the German press we ascribe to the great number of emigrants who have brought over with them the passions of the recent revolutionary agitations, and who insist upon treating every thing authoritative or sacred as a device of priestcraft or kingcraft. Many of them have accomplishments and learning which enable them to gain an easier living by setting up a newspaper than by professional or agricultural labor, and hence the number of radical and incendiary publications. The tone of the most violent, how-

ever, shows the power which is so quietly struggling against them. They quarrel with American notions of thrift, industry, and sobriety in a temper that shows evident disappointment. Their countrymen are fast outgrowing the extravagances of their political leaders, and not seldom we find the name of some man who came over as a Red Socialist mentioned, in fact virtually posted as a recreant, for having learned English and fallen into American ways of business and society. It is obvious, too, that our voluntary system of religion is curing many of them of their prejudice against the church and ministry,— winning their coöperation in support of that Gospel which was the beginning and will be the consummation of republican fraternity.

Vast and ominous as is the problem before us, we take the cheerful side of the question, and look for a powerful reaction against the tendencies now most conspicuous among the Germans in America. Already we are indebted to their scholars, theologians, and philosophers for important services to education and religion. Already they have founded here a native literature in their own language, which is an ornament to our own nation as well as a benefaction to theirs. Already we have, in the example of many a choice mind and favored community, promise of the time when our country, without changing its essential institutions or yielding its Anglo-Saxon manhood, shall temper its utilitarianism and individuality by an infusion of genial companionship and ideal enthusiasm from the land of Luther and Schiller. We may need the German to counterbalance the Celt, and both may be called with ourselves to do a work beyond our hope. Dark, however, would the prospect be, were it not for the dominant energy and intelligence of our native people in tempering the spiritual despotism of the Celt by their sturdy independence, and in subduing the sensual socialism of the German by their political sobriety.

S. O.

Art. III. — THE INSTITUTION FOR IDIOTS IN BERLIN, PRUSSIA.

The late reports of Dr. Howe with regard to the Massachusetts State Institution for the Education of Idiots at South Boston, and of Dr. Wilbur,* the head of a private institution for imbeciles at Barre, have excited considerable attention. Their schools have now been established for a period of two or three years, and have demonstrated conclusively the possibility of doing something — of doing much more than most persons supposed could be done — for the education and elevation of idiots. As yet only a beginning has been made. What has already been accomplished gives good promise of still better results for the future. In Germany, and especially in Prussia, the experiment of educating idiots had been tried, and found successful, some time before any thing of the kind was attempted in Massachusetts. The following account of the Institution for the education of Idiots at Berlin, one of the first, if not the first, that was ever established, may be of some value to those who are interested in this unfortunate class of beings, and perhaps will not prove uninteresting to others of our readers.

The school is in the same building with the institution for educating the deaf and dumb, and is under the superintendence of the same philanthropic individual. A few words are necessary by way of preface, in order to understand the methods of instruction which are employed at the school. The director, M. Säegert, is a physiologist and a metaphysician as well as a philanthropist; and his system of education is founded upon his peculiar views of an idiot's mind. We do not propose to give these views in full. Indeed, we could not do so if it was desirable. We shall only present a general statement, derived from various conversations with the director, and penned at the present time almost entirely from recollection. It is given, not as an exposition of the director's philosophy,

* Since the above was in type, we have learned that Dr. Wilbur has accepted the appointment of Superintendent of the New York State Institution for educating Idiots. This institution has been lately established, and is located at Albany. We have no doubt that the marked success which attended Dr Wilbur in his private school will continue to be exhibited in the wider sphere of philanthropic effort which is now open before him.

but as important to a comprehension of his method of instruction.

According to him, the mind or understanding of an idiot is not inferior to that of others. It is only undeveloped. The germs of every faculty are there, but they have never grown, or have been obstructed in their growth. The various powers of perception, thought, memory, association, and the like, have never been called into action, and therefore do not seem to exist. They are not absent; they are concealed. An idiot's mind is deprived of communication with external objects by the obtuseness of his senses. It is these which are blunted, and the mind consequently suffers and is dwarfed. Take from a child at the hour of his birth, or rather at that time blunt, without destroying, all his senses; let his eye receive the impression of light without appreciating differences of color, or the intensity of different rays; let the sense of touch be so feeble, that a ball cannot be distinguished from a square, a circle from a triangle; let his ear still hear, but be deprived of the power of noting differences of sound, so that a human voice shall not be distinguished from an unmeaning cry; destroy all differences of taste and smell, let bitter and sweet, pleasant and unpleasant, be the same; — let this be done, and the child becomes an idiot. The mind may still be perfect, but it will give no signs of its existence. Every faculty of the soul may exist, though undeveloped and unrecognized. The senses are the means of the mind's education. They are the avenues which lead to its residence; its interpreters of the world around it, and its earliest instructors. Destroy or blunt these in infancy, and the body becomes the prison-house, not the organ of the soul. According to this philosophy, an idiot is a human being with the soul literally in fetters.

Now if any means can be found of awaking these dormant senses, — of imparting to them, even in a partial degree, their natural power, the mind can be reached; and if reached, it can be educated. If a single sense can be developed, if a single avenue can be opened to the mind, the latter will soon make up, in a very considerable degree, by its inherent superiority, for the deficiencies of the former. The object, then, of instruction for the idiot is, in the first instance, to educate and develop his

senses, to call them into activity. For this purpose, all the means that a most fertile ingenuity can suggest are employed at the institution referred to. Careful inquiries are made with regard to the previous history, parentage, habits of life, and other circumstances, that may have had any influence upon the idiot's condition, or afford any clew whereby an entrance may be gained to his mental and spiritual nature. Thus, for instance, an imbecile, upon his entrance to the institution, is brought within the influence of music. A piano, or violin, or flute, or a number of instruments, are played near him. If he hears the music and is attracted by it; if a single, though perhaps momentary, gleam of pleasure beams from his countenance, like sunlight through a cloud, and lights up his eye with sudden beauty, as if the inner light informed it, then is the influence which produced the unwonted impression repeated and continued, day after day and week after week, until attention is aroused and interest excited. When this is done, the first great point is gained; and upon accomplishing this, by some means or other, depends the possibility of freeing and developing the incarcerated mind. Some idiots care nothing for music, but are attracted by pictures or carved blocks. They are apparently unconscious of differences of sound, but are pleased with rude pictures and gaudy colors. Others become interested in simple games; others in conversation and childish stories; and others still in building piles of blocks or squares. Some are attracted by one thing, and some by another. Whenever any sort of game, however simple, any sort of amusement or work, is discovered which interests them, that, whatever it may be, they are taught to play or to do. By perseverance and unremitting care, they are gradually taught to fix their attention upon something, and to do that something with regularity. In this way, by trying all the senses, the director endeavors to ascertain which is the least dull; which can be the earliest reached. He seeks a fulcrum for his lever, and when the fulcrum is found, the chief difficulty is vanquished.

We were told that the sense of touch is usually the first to be aroused. The idiot child, in most cases, first begins to notice differences of shape and form. He can be taught to adapt angular blocks to each other, so as to

form squares and triangles and miniature buildings, before he can learn any thing else; and after a time he is able to imitate models or drawings upon the blackboard. We observed that many of the idiots, particularly those who had been in the school only a short period, arranged their blocks by the sense of touch alone. They did not seem to be aware that their fingers might be aided and guided by their eyes. Like blind children, they learned by feeling — by running their fingers over the shape of the model they were to imitate, and then over the angles and sides of different blocks of wood — how to fit one piece to another. While doing this their eyes were closed, or else were wandering about the room with a vacant and idiotic stare. After a while they learn to use their eyes likewise. They gradually make the discovery that the hand and the eye may work in unison, and with mutual advantage. Definite vision, or the power of distinguishing single objects, is ordinarily the second sense aroused. The idiot who has learned to recognize different forms and shapes by touch next acquires the power of distinguishing them by sight. Little by little, as one week after another glides away, he learns to see. He is gradually made aware of the impressions which the eye receives; his brain becomes conscious of the pictures that are painted upon the retina. Hearing is usually the third in the series; and the voice is developed contemporaneously with it. After a shorter or longer period of instruction, the ear begins to distinguish different sounds, and at the same time the voice of the idiot changes. His painful and unmeaning cry gives place to intelligible and coherent speech. In this slow manner, one sense after another is aroused, stimulated, and educated. The process is necessarily a slow one. Years are requisite for its completion, and years are sometimes necessary for the first few steps. But just in proportion as the senses can be awakened and educated, impressions can be made upon the mind, and the latter be developed.

One poor being in the school of the institution left upon our mind an impression that remains there still fresh and distinct. Though a painful object, as an example of the weakness and degradation into which humanity may be born, he was both an illustration of the tedious process by which an idiot must be educated, and a proof of the faith and patient enthusiasm of the director.

The unfortunate child to whom we refer sat like an animal upon the floor. His head rolled about upon his shoulders, from one side to the other, like that of a drunken man. His mouth was half open, with his tongue protruded, and his eyes were either closed, or they rolled around in their sockets with an unconscious gaze, as if the light never reached the visual nerve. His hands twirled senselessly a block of wood, while he occasionally uttered an unintelligible and discordant cry, that made us involuntarily shrink away in disgust. He was careless about the common decencies of life, and seemed to vegetate rather than to live. We could scarcely believe it possible that one like him, so thoroughly and apparently hopelessly idiotic, should be elevated and educated even so as to appear like a human being. Yet the director was sanguine that much might be done to improve him. He entertained confident hopes of final success, partly from his experience with similar cases, and partly from the fact that, after four months of care and instruction, the poor child had been taught to pick up a ball and roll it across the room.

The ages of the scholars varied from three or four years to nineteen or twenty. The majority were children under the age of twelve. When admitted to the institution at an early age, they can be more easily trained, and their education carried to a higher result, than when received at a later period in life. It is desirable to commence the process of physical education and training as soon as an idiotic child has ceased to be an infant. By so doing, his chance of greater physical and mental development, and of possible restoration to the full possession of all his faculties, is very much increased.

The exercises of the pupils at the Berlin institution vary according to the peculiarities and necessities of each individual case. In the lowest class or department, which is devoted exclusively to the development and training of the various senses, some of the children were taught to beat a drum; some to roll a ball; others were taking lessons in walking, or marching, or in simple gymnastic games; others were kept busy with blocks of wood, or were trying to place two blocks side by side, evenly with each other, and to do it by sight as well as by feeling. Pupils who were more advanced were learning to count, to use articulate speech, and to give to familiar objects

their appropriate names; while others, still more advanced, were learning the alphabet, and endeavoring to read and write. In the upper class of the institution the inmates were studying geography, arithmetic, and similar branches. Two or three of the pupils displayed a degree of knowledge that would not compare unfavorably with the average acquirements of ordinary school-children; and all had evidently been taken out of the realm of idiocy. We were told that some who had been educated there — only a few to be sure, but still a few — were then pursuing the avocations of ordinary life, with scarcely a trace of imbecility upon them. They were gaining their own livelihood, and were no longer burdens to the state or to their friends, or objects of pain and disgust to any one. It is not possible to educate every idiot to this extent. Only a few of the really idiotic are capable of it. But still something can be done, and ought to be done, for every one of these unfortunate beings. It is no longer a matter of doubt, it has been proved, that there is no idiot, however low, degraded, and brutish he may appear to be, whose condition cannot be ameliorated.

An address was delivered last winter before the General Assembly of Rhode Island, by Mr. Arnold of that State, on the education of idiots. In the course of his address Mr. Arnold gave a brief account of the school for idiots at the Bicêtre in Paris, which he visited in 1847. We are glad to append to the above description of the institution for idiots in Berlin some notice of a similar establishment in Paris, and for this purpose shall avail ourselves of Mr. Arnold's address, as it appeared in the Providence Daily Journal for the 1st of February last.

The idiot department of the Bicêtre contained at the time of Mr. Arnold's visit one hundred and fifty boys, of whom ninety were in course of instruction. Their ages varied from six to over twenty years. Sixty of them had learned to write, forty-eight of them on paper, the others on a slate, and some of them not only legibly, but handsomely. Some were complete natural idiots, and others were more or less idiotic from the effects of epilepsy.

"When we entered the school," says Mr. Arnold, "the pupils were drawn up in a line on three sides of the room, with flags at intervals to represent regiments in battalion. The exercises commenced by singing hymns composed expressly for the pupils, and

adapted to their condition. The words were simple, the airs plaintive and soothing. There were very few who did not join in the singing. A military review succeeded. The pupils manifested great aptness and fondness for infantry drill. The drum beat, and some of the most intricate evolutions, countermarches, forming into companies, regiments, and battalion, were performed accurately and rapidly at the word of command. After this, three boys who were complete idiots were drilled in the manual exercise, with wooden guns, and went through it without a failure. This was followed by dancing. Two of the boys played on violins, and a large portion of the others joined in cotillons, and also in some very complicated theatrical dances. They moved in good time, were precise in their steps, and some were quite graceful in movement. When the dancing was ended the scholars were exercised collectively in sounding the notes from a large printed gamut at one end of the room. Individual examinations then began. There was one boy, a natural idiot, eighteen years old, who had been four years at the school. When he first came he could not talk at all. At the time of our visit he talked distinctly, though with difficulty. He was interesting from his attainments, which were truly remarkable. On being shown several geometrical figures of wood, he named them all properly. He was then blindfolded, and as each block was handed to him he named it as soon as he passed his hand round the edges. The handkerchief was then removed from his eyes, and he drew whatever figures he was told to, on the blackboard. A chest of essences was produced, and he told them all by the smell, and named a great variety of colors correctly, which were shown him on a painted card. Being again blindfolded, he tasted several kinds of roots and spices, and named them all without a single mistake. This boy had kept his eye on me during the whole of the examination, and when it was finished came up and bid me good morning, and asked me how I did, and seemed disposed to enter into conversation. The small clasp on my watch-guard attracted his attention; he examined it, and expressed a desire to know how it was made. This indicated not merely observation, but also a degree of intelligent curiosity, more conclusive in its manifestation than even the previous display of his attainments. Many of the pupils were examined in arithmetic. Some are found to possess mathematical or arithmetical tastes, and these are carefully developed. One boy could calculate in his head with surprising rapidity, multiplying compound numbers, and giving the correct result before we could figure it out with a pencil. Many told the time of day on a card dial made for the purpose. Nearly all could count accurately, and tell their own names and those of their friends, thus overthrowing the legal test of idiocy as given by Blackstone."

The process of developing the capacities of the scholars is the same at the Bicêtre as at Berlin.

"The first step in the course of instruction is, to endeavor to ascertain what particular inclination is manifested. This is no easy task in cases where there appears no trace of *mind*, and the only clew to the desired end is to be gained by close observation of the *instincts* or *propensities* of the subject. It often requires a long time, and diligent inquiry as to the parentage and history of the patient, to fix upon a starting-point. The expedients resorted to, in order to discover on what point the interest of the subject may be awakened, are ingenious, laborious, and often of a nature which none but the experienced in these matters would imagine or comprehend. This point once ascertained, every pains is taken to develop it, to the exclusion of all other matters. The efforts of the teachers are confined to this until a sufficient degree of progress is evinced to justify them in extending the sphere of instruction to some collateral matter, and in this way to awaken, if not to create, a mind where at first seemed only vacancy. One example which was given us was in the case of a complete idiot over twenty years of age, who was long considered as beyond hope of amelioration. It was discovered that his father had been in the army. This gave a clew to what proved to be the only point upon which any interest could be excited in his mind, — martial music. In time he became an excellent drummer, and during the drill to-day he performed with much skill upon his favorite instrument. The examination lasted about two hours, when the boys were dismissed to their workshops. We there saw them at carpenters and shoemakers' work, and were shown some very good specimens of their skill. Many of them have become beautiful draughtsmen. Some of their pen drawings at a little distance appeared like engravings."

The institution for idiots in Berlin and the school at the Bicêtre in Paris are living examples of what has been done and may be done for this neglected class. Their condition is no longer utterly hopeless. They can at least be rendered decent in their habits and conduct. In most cases they can be taught some simple and useful employment, whereby their comfort and happiness are infinitely increased; and in some instances the cloud that shrouds them can be entirely dispelled. We rejoice to know that efforts for their amelioration are going on in this country as well as in Europe, and trust that these efforts will be crowned with success.

E. H. C.

Art. IV. — STUART'S COMMENTARY ON DANIEL.*

This volume grew naturally out of Professor Stuart's "Commentary on the Apocalypse," as he informs us in the Preface. No two books of the Bible have been so much commented upon, and to so little purpose, as those of Daniel and Revelation. But little which would pay for the time spent in reading it could be found written upon them in the English language. Mr. Folsom's little book, published some eight or ten years ago, was the only work on Daniel in English worth reading. The popular opinion respecting these books and their meaning was and is most notoriously incorrect. No soil was ever more prolific of words. Vagaries wilder than the tales of the Arabian Nights were written in commentaries and preached through Christendom as exponents of the contents of these two portions of the Scriptures. The Pope, Rome, Napoleon, Wellington, Luther, were all found depicted in these prophetic symbols; and pictoral lecturers were strolling about the country with their symbolic paintings of images and horned beasts and dragons, to instruct the ignorant and establish the time of the final consummation. Common sense was spurned, and all correct rules of interpretation discarded, by those lights of the world. We are thankful for a sensible commentary on these books. Professor Stuart has done good service to the world by his Commentary on the Apocalypse, and still better service by this volume on Daniel. We think our readers will agree with us in this opinion, when we come to state the general course of thought in the work, and especially the views taken by the writer of some of the vexed questions respecting the contents of this book.

Professor Stuart anticipates some opposition to his views, and complains of the manner in which his commentary on the Apocalypse has been treated by some critics whose knowledge was not superabundant. Having put to such critics a series of questions respecting their knowledge, which he thought they would find it

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* *A Commentary on the Book of Daniel.* By Moses Stuart, lately Professor of Sacred Literature in the Theological Seminary at Andover. Boston: Crocker & Brewster. 1850. pp. viii., 496.

hard to answer, he goes on to remark, that prejudice and attachment to long-cherished opinions would probably prevent a favorable view of his work.

We give his own words: —

"If here and there a self-complacent critic of my Commentary on the Apocalypse had asked himself such questions before he sat down to write his *diatribe*, the public would have been spared a deal of *a priori* interpretation and spider-web theories. Some had written their book, on the same work of John, and mine disagreed with it. *Hinc illæ lacrymæ.* Some had read that *profound* work of Bishop Newton on the Prophecies; and because I did not agree with him I must be in the wrong. The most confident of my condemning judges were of course those who could not read a word of the original, and would not be able to form any idea what one means who talks about historico-grammatical interpretation. I have no defence to make against any such assailants.

"What happened then may, and probably will, happen now. I have not come to any conclusion that Daniel said or knew any thing about the *Pope* and his *Cardinals*. This will be enough to pass sentence of condemnation. *Do manus.* I have no dispute with criticism like this. Of all the books in the Bible, except, perhaps, the Apocalypse, Daniel has been least understood, and most perverted and abused. I will bide my time and wait with patience to see whether this will be conceded and myself justified in the attempt to vindicate its true meaning." — pp. iv., v.

We have but a word to say about Professor Stuart's style as a commentator. Our readers are probably pretty familiar with it. It is interminably diffuse and offensively pedantic. We do not object, as some critics on his commentaries have done, that he tells us what every body thinks, and fills his pages with all manner of opinions from all manner of authorities. Indeed, this is a good thing in some commentaries. It saves our turning to a dozen or two of volumes, and gives us a view of other opinions. We should not like to have all commentaries written thus; but we would like some of this kind, and Professor Stuart has a gift in this direction; let him improve it. He has gone too far, however, in making his work on Daniel a Chaldee chrestomathy. It is clearly not proper to make it an object to teach grammar in a commentary. We can put up with an almost interminable survey and confutation of worthless opinions, but

when he comes to teaching Chaldee grammar we must protest.

But enough of this. We did not take up our pen to write an elaborate criticism on this Commentary, but to give a very brief statement of some of the views which are maintained therein.

Every reader of the recent commentaries of the most learned of the orthodox writers has observed that there is a strong tendency to abandon the old, specific method of interpreting prophecy, and to adopt the general method. This is eminently the case with Alexander on Isaiah. He discards most of the usual specific applications of Isaiah's prophecies, and maintains that they refer to the general progress and ultimate triumph of God's kingdom. Specific calamities and blessings are mentioned, not as things real, but as symbols of adversity or success. We are not, therefore, to look into history for the fulfilment of the specific descriptions contained in the prophets, but only for such conditions of society as these specific predictions and descriptions might well represent. So Stuart in his Commentary on the Apocalypse says: —

"My view of the apocalyptic representation is such, that, if those enemies had been humbled and subdued by any other nation than that of the Romans, or by a series of judgments and misfortunes altogether of a *different* tenor from those which actually took place, I should regard the prophecy of John as having been just as certainly and truly and fully accomplished as it now is." — Vol. II. p. 141.

This is well: and when all commentators take this common-sense ground, we may consider the millennium of criticism as having come, and the reign of sound interpretation as set up. We should be glad to enlarge on this subject, which we think is essential to a true understanding of the writings of the Hebrew prophets. But we must proceed to consider the views presented in this Commentary upon the fourth kingdom, the seventy weeks, and the resurrection spoken of in the twelfth chapter.

We will take up these subjects in the order in which we have named them. The fourth kingdom has usually been understood to signify the Roman Empire and the Papacy founded on its ruins. Professor Stuart most

decidedly and triumphantly maintains that the dominion of Alexander's successors is the fourth kingdom, and that it has no reference to Rome or to the Papacy. The legs and feet of iron and clay, in the second chapter, the "fourth beast dreadful and terrible" with "ten horns," in the seventh chapter, the "four horns" of the "he goat," in the eighth chapter, and the particular account given in the eleventh chapter respecting the kings of all these kingdoms, when compared together, show most conclusively that the fourth kingdom is the fragments of Alexander's kingdom, and that the little horn is Antiochus Epiphanes, and not Popery. Indeed, there is good reason to doubt whether the fourth kingdom would ever have been thought to be the Roman Empire had not Porphyry declared that the prophecy was so accurate a description of the lives of Alexander's successors, and especially of that of Antiochus Epiphanes, that it must have been written *after* the events described had taken place, and hence that not Daniel, but some late writer, must have been the author. To repel this assault upon the genuineness of the book, an attempt was made by Jerome to apply the prophecy to the Roman Empire; and in his footsteps the commentators since his time have usually followed. So far is it from being true, as some assert, that the prophecy will not apply to Alexander's successors, and to Antiochus in particular, as the "little horn," that one of the shrewdest and most learned opponents of revelation declared that the application was so perfect, the fulfilment so accurate, that there was but one way to escape its convincing proof of being a divine revelation, namely, to deny its genuineness and assert its historical, in opposition to its prophetical character.

We do not propose to enter into this argument. To our own minds nothing is clearer than that the fourth kingdom is that of the successors of Alexander, and the "little horn" Antiochus Epiphanes. No other conclusion can be maintained without violating the most obvious rules of interpretation.

But the "seventy weeks" are not so easily disposed of. Commentators have almost universally agreed that they terminate at the death of Christ, and that they cover a period of four hundred and ninety years. We never have been able to appreciate the force of the argu-

ments by which interpreters have endeavored to make this out, and we are somewhat comforted to find that Professor Stuart is as unsatisfied with them as we are. We have long been of the opinion, that they ended with the death of Antiochus Epiphanes, and that there was no proof that they extended further; much less, that they extended to the times of our Saviour. The twenty-seventh verse of the ninth chapter puts the question at rest in our minds. "And he shall confirm the covenant with many for *one week*." Christ did not continue his ministry "one week," i. e. seven years, but Antiochus did harass the Jews for "one week." In viii. 14 it is said that the "little horn" had possession of the Jewish people "two thousand and three hundred days," or six years and a half, which in round numbers would be a prophetic "week." The writer goes on to say, in ix. 27: "And in the midst of the week he shall cause the sacrifice and the oblation to cease." This is just what Antiochus did. He compelled the Jews to desist from their worship for three years and a half, a "time and times and half a time." But Christ did not take away the sacrifice for three years and a half. It is as clear as history can make it that the "prince" referred to in the twenty-seventh verse of the ninth chapter is Antiochus Epiphanes, and that the seventy weeks end with him. This opinion Professor Stuart defends at length, and most successfully, against Hengstenberg and Hävernick. He says (p. 387): "That they [the seventy weeks] *end* with the reign and death of Antiochus, I cannot doubt; although I am unable to make the commencement of them clear." This latter remark is true. But it is no less true of the other theory. It is equally difficult to find the beginning of the "seventy weeks," if we terminate them with the death of Christ. That they do *not* terminate with him is perfectly clear, unless we abandon all rules of interpretation, and permit ourselves to be guided by fancy. Interpreters must not manufacture their facts, nor must they build up an interpretation of a long series of prophecies on the possible meaning of some Hebrew or Chaldee particle. There must be some comprehensiveness of vision in the critic who would successfully interpret prophecy, and he who clings to the possible or even more common meaning of

a word or sentence, in opposition to the general tone and spirit of the whole, will fail of obtaining the true meaning of prophecy. It does not fall in with our purpose to argue the question of the limits of the "seventy weeks" with those who take a different view from ourselves, but simply to state the opinion of our author, and our satisfaction in finding our own opinion favored by the conclusion of such a Nestor in criticism, and of the household of the Evangelical.

The next topic we intend to bring before our readers is the author's opinion of the reference in the twelfth chapter. The first three verses of this chapter are supposed by most interpreters to refer to the final resurrection and general judgment. They read as follows:—

"1. And at that time shall Michael stand up, the great prince which standeth for the children of thy people; and there shall be a time of trouble, such as never was since there was a nation even to that same time; and at that time thy people shall be delivered, every one that shall be found written in the book. 2. And many of them that sleep in the dust of the earth shall awake, some to everlasting life, and some to shame and everlasting contempt. 3. And they that be wise shall shine as the brightness of the firmament; and they that turn many to righteousness, as the stars for ever and ever."

The first of these verses Professor Stuart refers unhesitatingly to the terrible times spoken of in the eleventh chapter under the cruelties of Antiochus, but the last two he refers, not very confidently, to the final resurrection and general judgment. He evidently saw the difficulty of referring all these verses, as is usually done, to the distant future, when it is distinctly stated that these things shall transpire "*at that time*" which is spoken of in the closing part of the eleventh chapter, namely, in the reign of Antiochus and at his death. Our commentator, therefore, refers the first verse to the times of Antiochus, and the last two to the end of the world. Such a separation between passages so closely connected, when there is no intimation in the text or context of any such disruption, should not be made without very cogent reasons. Are there any such reasons why the last two verses should be separated from the first, and made to refer to a period indefinitely distant? In Isaiah xxvi. 18, 19, and in Ezekiel

xxxvii. 1 – 14, the restoration of the Hebrew people to their land and privileges is called a resurrection, and the people are said to come forth from their graves. In Daniel the words are changed, but the symbol is, or at all events may be, the same. Surely the phrase, those "that sleep in the dust of the earth shall awake," is not a stronger one than these in Isaiah: "Thy dead men shall live"; "Awake ye that dwell in the dust"; "the earth shall cast out the dead"; or than this in Ezekiel: "I will open your graves, and cause you to come up out of your graves, and bring you into the land of Israel." Most undeniably these passages refer to the restoration of the people to their civil privileges; why may not the other, if the context requires it? Certainly there is nothing in the language used which forbids such a reference. The declaration that some of those who awake shall "awake to everlasting life, and some to shame and everlasting contempt," is a clear reference — as is the following verse: "And the wise shall shine as the brightness of the firmament; and they that turn many to righteousness, as the stars for ever and ever" — to xi. 33, 35, where the good are spoken of as being tried and purged. So that the natural interpretation would seem to be, "Those who have striven against the power of Antiochus, and have endeavored to preserve the people from the idol-worship which he established, shall be held in high estimation when the nation is restored to its former state, and those who have betrayed their country and joined its enemy shall be held in deserved reprobation." The word "everlasting" is used by the prophet very frequently in the sense of long-enduring, so that no argument can be derived from that word against the general view which we are presenting. Why, then, refer these two verses to the general resurrection? There is but one argument for so doing which appears to have any force. It is this: Unless this passage is referred to the consummation of the Messiah's kingdom, there is no reference to the fifth kingdom in the last prophecy. So be it. But it does not follow thence that our interpretation is not correct, for there is no reference to the fifth kingdom in the eighth chapter.

Another objection which appears of some force against referring the second and third verses to the resurrection and a future life is derived from the lack of any allusion

to such events elsewhere in the Old Testament. There is no substantial evidence worthy of reliance that the Jews believed in a resurrection. When Daniel lived, there is no proof that a resurrection was an article of faith. Attempts to sustain the contrary view have been made, but they have ended in conjecture. It is certainly very remarkable that such a declaration of faith should be made by Daniel only. The presumption is most clearly in favor of the opinion, that he used this symbol to denote national restoration from the desolation wrought by Antiochus Epiphanes, as Isaiah and Ezekiel used it to denote national restoration from the desolation wrought by Nebuchadnezzar. And the presumption must so remain till it has been conclusively proved that a belief in the doctrine of the resurrection was common in the days of Daniel; and even then it would be an open question whether Daniel did not use the language as a symbol of national restoration, which the context seems to demand.

Some of our readers may expect that we shall say something upon the genuineness of this book of Daniel before we close our remarks. We did not purpose to enter into that discussion. Professor Stuart ably maintains the genuineness of the book, and follows step by step the objections of Lengerke, one of the ablest opponents of Daniel. The *a priori* objections to its genuineness are of little worth, as *a priori* arguments usually are. The specific character of the prophecy in the eleventh chapter awakens the strongest doubt of the prophetical character of the book, as Porphyry discovered. But one valid witness to the contrary would scatter it to the winds. The study of the physical sciences has shown us that *a priori* considerations are of weight only within very narrow limits. The fact that no other prophecy of such length is equally specific would no more prove this to have been written after the events, than the fact of the existence of fish without eyes would be set aside by the universal presence of such organs in all fishes previously known. Science will yet, we hope, drive theology from the clouds to the solid ground. It is not necessary that all the books of prophecy should be cast in the same rhetorical mould in order to their acceptance as genuine, any more than that all men should be of the same stat-

ure and color to entitle them to the rights of humanity. That there are difficulties respecting the genuineness of the book of Daniel which do not attach to some of the other books in the Old Testament we freely admit. But this by no means shows that it is not genuine; it only shows that it would be more difficult to prove it so. We do not propose to enter into that question, and therefore will drop it here.

The tendencies of criticism as manifested in this and some other American works are encouraging. The narrow and cramped principles which have guided some critics are as destructive to all true criticism as the fanciful and whimsical notions which have controlled others. We think that the signs of the times indicate something better. Indeed, something better has already come. This work and the work of the same author on the Apocalypse will send light where before there was darkness. We hope their venerable author may still be spared to give more of the results of a life of study to the public. We shall receive them with a cordial welcome.

R. P. S.

Art. V.—PARKMAN'S CONSPIRACY OF PONTIAC.*

Mr. Parkman's theme is a sad and painful one, though it is likewise invested with a profound interest. Such is too truly the character of by far the larger portion of all the subjects which historians have treated, or have yet to treat. If still it be important that they should be rehearsed, fidelity and skill in dealing with them, so as to present with power the great issues which they suspended, and to relieve their sombre gloom by touches of light from the beauties of nature and the heroism of men, are to be accounted to the praise of the historian, while he is blameless for the horrors which he must relate.

The subject-matter of Mr. Parkman's history is so har-

* *History of the Conspiracy of Pontiac, and the War of the North American Tribes against the English Colonists after the Conquest of Canada.* By Francis Parkman, Jr. Boston: Little & Brown. 1851. 8vo. pp. 630.

rowing to every humane sentiment, as to demand in its treatment a forcible exhibition of all the high interests which were at stake, and such relief as the finer qualities and the nobler virtues of men, as well as the pleasant imagery of nature, will afford to brighten the narrative. It is for this reason that we award to the book before us the highest commendation. Mr. Parkman has discharged his task in a most able manner. His labors are sure to be appreciated by all competent and candid judges, as deserving of unqualified and unstinted praise.

However much or little the success of his work may be advanced by reviews and criticisms, it is one of those performances which can stand on their own merits. It will certainly hold an honored place among the best historical works which have been produced in this country. We have ourselves received such gratification from its perusal, that we feel desirous of introducing it to our readers who have not anticipated our purpose, in a way that shall excite their own expectations from it, without forestalling any of the interest which its pages will afford them.

In undertaking to stand between such a book and those whom we would attract to its perusal, we feel that our duty is a very simple one. We must first of all present the theme of the volume; then we must state the qualifications of the author for the effective and judicious treatment of it; we must define the materials, their authority and the use made of them; and we must next indicate how they have been worked up in the whole arrangement and elaboration of details and narrative which constitute the work.

The theme itself is one of the most exciting and serious interest. A writer who wishes to secure himself a fame among historians is fortunate in having found such a theme yet waiting to invite and to reward him. Of course the war of the Revolution holds the first place among all the subjects for the historian's pen on this continent since its settlement. We know not any other subject which could dispute with that dealt with in the volume before us for the honor of the second place. The seven years of strife and blood which protracted the conflicts between the French and the English colonists on this western continent were marked by many wild

and stirring incidents, and made brilliant — in military phrase — by acts of the noblest heroism and intrepidity. That contest likewise has all the romantic interest of the scenes on which it was waged, and all the original and peculiar attractiveness of a new mode of warfare, conducted often in a savage fashion, as well as with savage allies. But that old French war is broken into a multitude of actions and skirmishes, with a great variety of leaders to confuse and divide our attention; and its separate incidents often do not seem to bear upon the main issue. Those separate incidents have already filled many volumes with their incomplete records, and there are rich materials for more. There is no summary review of the French war which tells the story of it in a more faithful and spirited manner, than that which makes the introduction to Mr. Parkman's volume. His own theme joins on to that, and the interest of the sequel exceeds that of either of the events which preceded it.

The overthrow of the French ascendency on this continent by the successful prowess of the English at Forts Du Quesne (Pittsburg) and Niagara, at Crown Point, Ticonderoga, Quebec, and Montreal, in 1760, brought the war to a close. The whole continent east of the Mississippi then passed under British rule, so far as a treaty between the English, French, and Spanish powers, in 1763, could dispose of territory here belonging to a party not admitted to the negotiation. But the two leading European monarchies had been contending for a prize which neither could lawfully claim, let the issue end as it might. While the war was in progress the savages, whose stake was the greatest, seem to have kept their paramount rights in abeyance. Those of the native tribes which had not been allies of France were, at least, not friendly to the English. The close of the French war was the signal for the breaking out of a terrific struggle on our borders, in which the darkest scenes of savage barbarity were enacted; while the heroism of the Anglo-Americans was put to as severe a test as ever tried the ancestral blood in any region of the earth. The occasion of it was a final effort of the Indian tribes to maintain their own independent possession of their native soil, and by one daring effort of savage prowess to drive off the English usurpers. The life and soul of that bold en-

terprise was Pontiac, the most remarkable Indian chieftain in our annals. He planned a conspiracy of the Northern and Western tribes against the English. With all the dark passions of his race, with a subtlety, and genius, and barbaric dignity which would have made him the unquestioned leader of any single tribe, he combined an ambitious and revengeful spirit, an intelligent forecast, an ability to plan and guide, and a resolution and tenacity of purpose, which gained for him supreme influence over the least tractable of his fellow-chieftains and won them to his own aim. He conceived an enterprise in which, if any man could have succeeded, he would have been sure to triumph. His great scheme was to unite the independent and contentious Indian tribes of the North and West into a firm alliance for the destruction of the old French forts which had passed into the hands of the English on the Lakes and borders, then to set upon the frontier settlers with all the fury of a savage devastation, and to drive the hated intruders into the sea. His measures to this end, with all the incidents of the different scenes which its prosecution involved, make the theme of this volume. The dark shades of the wide, unbroken wilderness, the ocean-like expanses of the Lakes, and the great rivers of the Western forests, form the scenery on which the terrific tragedy transpired. Pictures of savage life and of savage men, the strange lore of the murky woods, and the harrowing narratives of Indian warfare, are the materials which enter into the theme.

The qualifications which an author may have for dealing with such a theme must form a chief element of our estimate of the real value of his work, before we read it, and when we have perused it. No mere study and research, however faithful and ample, could qualify a writer for conspicuous success in this task. Though the literary materials for it are abundant and rich, and many of them, written under circumstances such as to secure their freshness and vitality, would afford words and images which a compiler might copy to advantage, these alone would not enable an author to infuse into his narrative the spirit and glow which ought to animate such a theme. The writer would need a natural bent, a proclivity toward savage life, an instinctive passion for his

theme; in a word, a genius for it. And then he would also need the training, the experimental knowledge, which would inform his genius and turn it into an effective skill. He must have seen and known real savages, must have consorted with them on their own terms, must have lived in their ways, have seen their doings, have heard their legends, and spent nights before the fires in their lodges in talking with them upon his theme, its incidents and actors. Mr. Parkman has these qualifications in natural bent and proclivity and genius, and in the training of real personal experience. He has caught the spirit of his theme, and learned the style of its faithful treatment. He has had experience of savage life. We do not mean to imply that when we are in his company we feel any insecurity as to our scalp, or that we should not be taken off our guard if he were to raise a whoop in our ears. He has fortunately been able to preserve his civilization, and has put to good account his academic discipline at Harvard. But we can explain his wonderful skill in the delineation of savage life and manners, his felicitous use of words and images drawn from the woods and their wild tenants, and his remarkable power in presenting the great living features of the Indian mind and nature, only by attributing them to an original genius in that direction, trained by an avidity to see for himself what he would describe, and by a faithful use of the opportunity when attained at no small cost of endurance and courage.

Those who have followed Mr. Parkman in his lively narrative of personal adventure on "The California and Oregon Trail," in 1846, which abounds in graphic sketches of life on the prairies and the Rocky Mountains, will at once admit his eminent qualifications for his present work. In the volume whose title we have just given, we find this passage:—

"I had come into the country almost exclusively with a view of observing the Indian character. Having from childhood felt a curiosity on this subject, and having failed completely to gratify it by reading, I resolved to have recourse to observation. I wished to satisfy myself with regard to the position of the Indians among the races of men; the vices and the virtues that have sprung from their innate character, and from their modes of life, their government, their superstitions, and their domestic situation.

To accomplish my purpose it was necessary to live in the midst of them, and become, as it were, one of them. I proposed to join a village, and make myself an inmate of one of their lodges," &c. — p. 143.

We would refer our readers to that volume if they wish for further information concerning the author's personal fitness for his present task. We see in the volume before us, that all his painfully acquired knowledge has been turned to good account. He has made the Indian character the subject of a very close and penetrating observation.

We have long since learned that the Indian as described in most of our books is the creature of the imaginations of the various writers. They have given us the most unfaithful portraitures, wholly unlike to the realities. The red man's faults and virtues were neither of them such as have been attributed to him. Mr. Parkman is almost original in his fidelity to the truth of the matter. He has caught the living expression of the Indian mind. He gives us broad, general views, authenticated and illustrated by the most minute details, which present a most acute analysis of the real savage character. He balances its strong and its weak points. He shows us just wherein an Indian surpasses a white man in fertility of resource, or in ability to do without what is necessary to us, and wherein his nature is limited by deficiencies or circumstances. We might draw from this volume, either in sentences or in paragraphs, information, which, being brought together, would afford us as just and as discriminating a view of savage character as we are ever likely to have. With authentic descriptions of the habits of the Indians, Mr. Parkman gives us divinings of their ideas and modes of conception. He interprets for us the lonely musings of the child of nature, as in some dark hiding-place with prayer and fasting he shapes the vision which he is to pursue in life. He sketches the summer and winter lodges with their inmates, the hunting, trading, and war parties, the gloomy superstitions and shadowy legends of their traditionary lore. All this is done with a happy facility of word and phrase and imagery, which gives an electric vigor to his narrative, and eminently befits his theme. The air of verity is over his pages. His skill in the description of forest and wilder-

ness scenery is very striking. He preserves the most rigid fidelity to exact historic truth, while the excitement of the most high-wrought romance accompanies the narrative.

As to the materials which he has been the first to work up into a continuous narrative, these are abundant, and of a very various character. Besides all the fragmentary documents which are in print, newspaper sketches, letters, biographies, journals of Indian traders, and more elaborate volumes, he informs us that he has had three thousand and four hundred pages of manuscript, consisting of state papers which he has copied at home and abroad, official reports, contemporary notes and records, and unpublished letters and journals. He has also examined the sites to which the shifting interest of his tale relates, and has collected all the local traditions around them. These materials have evidently been used with great judgment, fidelity, and skill, as is amply attested by the foot-notes and appendix of documents. Four valuable maps complete the apparatus.

Having said thus much concerning the theme, the qualifications of the author, his materials, and his mode of using them, we proceed to give a very slight sketch of the subject-matter of the volume.

Mr. Parkman introduces his narrative with a very elaborate account of the Indian tribes east of the Mississippi, at the time when they became known to the European colonists. These he classifies and describes, giving such historical information concerning them as can be depended upon, with a statement of their relations to each other, their numbers, mode of life, and marked characteristics. We extract a passage from this portion of the work.

"Of the Indian character much has been written foolishly, and credulously believed. By the rhapsodies of poets, the cant of sentimentalists, and the extravagance of some who should have known better, a counterfeit image has been tricked out, which might seek in vain for its likeness through every corner of the habitable earth; an image bearing no more resemblance to its original than the monarch of the tragedy and the hero of the epic poem bear to their living prototypes in the palace and the camp. The shadows of his wilderness home, and the darker mantle of his own inscrutable reserve, have made the Indian warrior a won-

der and a mystery. Yet to the eye of rational observation there is nothing unintelligible in him. He is full, it is true, of contradiction. He deems himself the centre of greatness and renown; his pride is proof against the fiercest torments of fire and steel; and yet the same man would beg for a dram of whiskey, or pick up a crust of bread thrown to him like a dog, from the tent-door of the traveller. At one moment, he is wary and cautious to the verge of cowardice; at the next, he abandons himself to a very insanity of recklessness, and the habitual self-restraint which throws an impenetrable veil over emotion is joined to the wild, impetuous passions of a beast or a madman.

"Such inconsistencies, strange as they seem in our eyes, when viewed under a novel aspect, are but the ordinary incidents of humanity. The qualities of the mind are not uniform in their action through all the relations of life. With different men, and different races of men, pride, valor, prudence, have different forms of manifestation, and where in one instance they lie dormant, in another they are keenly awake. The conjunction of greatness and littleness, meanness and pride, is older than the days of the patriarchs; and such antiquated phenomena, displayed under a new form in the unreflecting, undisciplined mind of a savage, call for no special wonder, but should rather be classed with the other enigmas of the fathomless human heart. The dissecting knife of a Rochefoucault might lay bare matters of no less curious observation in the breast of every man.

"Nature has stamped the Indian with a hard and stern physiognomy. Ambition, revenge, envy, jealousy, are his ruling passions; and his cold temperament is little exposed to those effeminate vices which are the bane of milder races. With him revenge is an overpowering instinct; nay, more, it is a point of honor and a duty. His pride sets all language at defiance. He loathes the thought of coercion; and few of his race have ever stooped to discharge a menial office. A wild love of liberty, an utter intolerance of control, lie at the basis of his character, and fire his whole existence. Yet, in spite of this haughty independence, he is a devout hero-worshipper; and high achievement in war or policy touches a chord to which his nature never fails to respond. He looks up with admiring reverence to the sages and heroes of his tribe; and it is this principle, joined to the respect for age, which springs from the patriarchal element in his social system, which, beyond all others, contributes union and harmony to the erratic members of an Indian community. With him the love of glory kindles into a burning passion; and to allay its cravings, he will dare cold and famine, fire, tempest, torture, and death itself.

"These generous traits are overcast by much that is dark,

cold, and sinister, by sleepless distrust and rankling jealousy. Treacherous himself, he is always suspicious of treachery in others. Brave as he is, — and few of mankind are braver, — he will vent his passion by a secret stab rather than an open blow. His warfare is full of ambuscade and stratagem; and he never rushes into battle with that joyous self-abandonment with which the warriors of the Gothic races flung themselves into the ranks of their enemies. In his feasts and his drinking-bouts we find none of that robust and full-toned mirth which reigned at the rude carousals of our barbaric ancestry. He is never jovial in his cups, and maudlin sorrow or maniacal rage is the sole result of his potations.

"Over all emotion he throws the veil of an iron self-control, originating in a peculiar form of pride, and fostered by rigorous discipline from childhood upward. He is trained to conceal passion, and not to subdue it. The inscrutable warrior is aptly imaged by the hackneyed figure of a volcano covered with snow; and no man can say when or where the wild-fire will burst forth. This shallow self-mastery serves to give dignity to public deliberation, and harmony to social life. Wrangling and quarrel are strangers to an Indian dwelling; and while an assembly of the ancient Gauls was garrulous as a convocation of magpies, a Roman senate might have taken a lesson from the grave solemnity of an Indian council. In the midst of his family and friends, he hides affections, by nature none of the most tender, under a mask of icy coldness; and in the torturing fires of his enemy, the haughty sufferer maintains to the last his look of grim defiance." — pp. 35 – 38.

In this delineation there is a skill which no study of books would impart. It has been acquired by actual intercourse with the savages. The author is able to appreciate those differences in the traits belonging to the various tribes, which, though they seem slight, did, after all, distinguish the groups of aborigines on this continent, just as they mark the present inhabitants of our several States.

The following is a fine picture of winter life among the savages.

"In the long evenings of mid-winter, when in the wilderness without the trees cracked with biting cold, and the forest paths were clogged with snow, then, around the lodge-fires of the Iroquois, warriors, squaws, and restless, naked children were clustered in social groups, each dark face brightened in the fickle fire-light, while, with jest and laugh, the pipe passed round from

hand to hand. Perhaps some shrivelled old warrior, the story-teller of the tribe, recounted to attentive ears the deeds of ancient heroism, legends of spirits and monsters, or tales of witches and vampires, — superstitions not less rife among this all-believing race, than among the nations of the Transatlantic world." — p. 16.

We extract a passage relating to their religion.

"The religious belief of the Algonquins — and the remark holds good, not of the Algonquins only, but of all the hunting tribes of America — is a cloudy bewilderment, where we seek in vain for system or coherency. Among a primitive and savage people, there were no poets to vivify its images, no priests to give distinctness and harmony to its rites and symbols. To the Indian mind all nature was instinct with deity. A spirit was embodied in every mountain, lake, and cataract; every bird, beast, or reptile, every tree, shrub, or grass-blade, was endued with mystic influence; yet this untutored pantheism did not exclude the conception of certain divinities, of incongruous and ever-shifting attributes. The sun, too, was a god, and the moon was a goddess. Conflicting powers of good and evil divided the universe; but if, before the arrival of Europeans, the Indian recognized the existence of a one almighty, self-existent Being, the Great Spirit, the Lord of Heaven and Earth, the belief was so vague and dubious as scarcely to deserve the name. His perceptions of moral good and evil were perplexed and shadowy; and the belief in a state of future reward and punishment was by no means of universal prevalence." — pp. 34, 35.

The French and the English colonists stood from the very beginning in widely different relations with the natives. The circumstances under which they had respectively made their settlements here were very unlike, and in character, training, and spirit they differed yet more, while the course which each pursued in their dealings with the savages was even more dissimilar. France claimed the valleys of the Ohio and the Mississippi by right of the discoveries of Allouez and La Salle. England claimed the same regions by force of treaties with the Six Nations, who professed to hold them by right of conquest. In 1688 the census made the number of the French in North America 11,249, which was about a twentieth part of the number of the English here. But in the earliest periods of colonization the French had shown more of the spirit of enterprise in spreading themselves over the continent, and they always had mingled

with the natives on the most intimate and familiar terms. In this latter condescension the English never attempted to emulate them. The half-breeds, traders, *voyageurs*, and *couriers des bois* formed a motley crew, who served as go-betweens in the intercourse of the white and red man. The wilderness harbored many of these *Indianized* white men. They were a barbarous, filthy, and degraded race, and furnished then, as similar specimens of humanity still furnish, a striking proof, that the process of deterioration or debasement is always easier than that of improvement and civilization. The graces and refinements of social life are more easily lost by the white man than acquired by the Indian. Charlevoix said that the savages did not become French, but the French became savages. The French were almost exclusively engaged in the fur trade, and this decided their relations to the natives, whom they flattered and took pains to please. The English colonists devoted themselves to commerce and agriculture, and had little intimacy with the savages.

The close of the French war made the English masters of the Lake and forest forts, and they proceeded to take possession of them. This measure was the signal for the outbreak on the part of the native tribes. Probably one impulse which moved them to rise against the English was the encouragement which they had found in their bloody success at Braddock's defeat. They were also deluded by the vengeful Canadians, who professed to stand neutral in the strife, into the belief that the capitulation with France was but a sham, and that the French king would once more rally his forces here. The English had made no efforts to conciliate the Northern and Western tribes, had bestowed no presents upon them, had courted no alliance with them. The natives saw their fair and rich, though wild, inheritance threatened by the all-grasping conquerors, and, with none of the means of concerted action save those which were furnished in the genius of one great mind among them, they were moved to a daring resistance.

A philosophical historian, who should be tracing the sad and withered fortunes of the red men on this continent, would be sure to meet with one pressing question in his own mind if he did not find the answer to it anticipated in his first dealing with his subject. As he con-

templated the wasting away of the aboriginal race, before the successive advances of foreign intruders, the inquiry would forcibly present itself, Had the doomed race none to speak for them? none to plan and act? none to foresee their fate, to rouse and encourage them to resist it? Was there not one man for the occasion, a man of the hour, in all their tribes, who in their own native eloquence, with imagery drawn from the devastating flame, or the wasting pestilence, or the summer drought, or the angry storm, would warn the poor citizens of the wild wood how they would surely waste away before the axe, and plough, and hammer, and whiskey, and firearms of the whites? As the emergencies and crises of successive encroachments were sadly or passionately realized, was there no man of destiny treading his native soil, who could foresee and announce the alternative between resistance and subjection, could bring the energy of a surpassing intellect to reconcile lesser animosities among those whose common all was at risk, and direct against a hated foe the combined efforts which together would be all effective, though fruitless if used apart? In answer to this question three barbarous chieftains present themselves in the events which are the materials for our history. Just such men as answer to the fitnesses of things appear. And they appear at just such crises as seemed to call for them, and to give them the work which they were qualified, at least, to attempt. These three men were King Philip, Pontiac, and Tecumseh. They would have been men of mark under any circumstances. They were men of foresight, of ambition, and of native energy of mind and soul. They were patriots; and, had the same affectations of speech been current among the whites of their day which have found favor in our own, they would have been called *prophets*.

These three great chieftains of our native tribes were, each in his turn, but for the same causes and with the same intensity of spirit, enemies of the white men. Nor were they moved by a blind passion, by a savage love of strife, as strife. They were intelligent and thoughtful, and deliberate in their opposition to the encroaching steps of the intruders upon their broad domains. If we may use the apparent paradox, we may truly say that they were the intelligent opponents of civilization and the

clear-sighted advocates of barbarism. They weighed the relative advantages of civilization and barbarism, and preferred the latter; thinking it the state better suited to their range of being and their happiness. Minavavana, a chief of the Ojibwas, addressing the commander at one of the Lake forts, said: "Englishman, we are not your slaves. These lakes, these woods and mountains, were left to us by our ancestors. They are our inheritance, and we will part with them to none. Your nation supposes that we, like the white people, cannot live without bread, and pork, and beef. But you ought to know that He, the Great Spirit and Master of Life, has provided food for us in these spacious lakes, and on these woody mountains." That sentence tells the whole truth concerning the feelings and convictions of each of those three heroic and patriotic sachems whom we have named together. They chose with their whole heart's love the wild freedom, the broad ranges of the wilderness, with its perils and its simple wood-craft, and were content to forego the thrift and luxury of the whites.

The charms which savage life has, even for those who have shared previously the influences of civilization, are admirably presented in the following extract. It occurs in Mr. Parkman's account of the delivery of some English captives which Colonel Bouquet exacted from the Western tribes.

"Among the captives brought in for delivery were some bound fast to prevent their escape; and many others who, amid the general tumult of joy and sorrow, sat sullen and scowling, angry that they were forced to abandon the wild license of the forest for the irksome restraints of society. Thus to look back with a fond longing to inhospitable deserts, where men, beasts, and Nature herself seem arrayed in arms, and where ease, security, and all that civilization reckons among the goods of life, are alike cut off, may appear to argue some strange perversity or moral malformation. Yet such has been the experience of many a sound and healthful mind. To him who has once tasted the reckless independence, the haughty self-reliance, the sense of irresponsible freedom, which the forest life engenders, civilization thenceforth seems flat and stale. Its pleasures are insipid, its pursuits wearisome, its conventionalities, duties, and mutual dependence alike tedious and disgusting. The entrapped wanderer grows fierce and restless, and pants for breathing-room. His path, it is true, was choked with difficulties, but his body and soul were

hardened to meet them; it was beset with dangers, but these were the very spice of his life, gladdening his heart with exulting self-confidence, and sending the blood through his veins with a livelier current. The wilderness, rough, harsh, and inexorable, has charms more potent in their seductive influence than all the lures of luxury and sloth. And often he on whom it has cast its magic finds no heart to dissolve the spell, and remains a wanderer and an Ishmaelite to the hour of his death." — pp. 508, 509.

Each of these three great chiefs planned a conspiracy of the native tribes against the English. Each found an occasion, in the circumstances of his own time, to bring the whole energy of his soul to bear upon an exterminating war. They all won their influence by their own native gifts, and were not indebted for it to any accident of birth or inherited privilege. The essential independence and spirit of isolation, as well as the inextinguishable animosities which characterized the different tribes, led each of them to stand for the most part alone, and to be averse to alliances. Nor is the famous confederacy of the Six Nations, when rightly viewed, an exception to this rule; it is rather a confirmation and illustration of it. Here was the weak point on the side of barbarism. These tribes could only with the greatest difficulty be engaged in any concerted action against a common foe. This fact, while it opposed constant obstacles and annoyances to any great leader who sought to league several tribes together against the whites, proves the wonderful endowments of those three chiefs, who, in a measure, were successful.

Our own King Philip was the first to conceive such an enterprise, and in his own savage heart he planned its successive steps, and by his powers of inciting and persuading he won his allies. He would have swept the hated English from the hills and valleys of New England. The war of 1675, with all its barbarity and desolations, showed the degree of his success. Tecumseh, forty years ago, found an occasion, in the rapid advances of our nation in the Far West, to ferment the third great conspiracy. He, too, was vanquished only after the terror of his name had been surpassed by the terror which followed on his track.

But by far the mightiest of the three was Pontiac. He was truly a great and a gifted man. Savage, relent-

less, and artful as he was, treacherous, too, by our estimate of moral qualities, he had a genius for inflaming and ruling the barbarous tribes, and he found an occasion which called out his soul with no merely visionary or unpromising purpose. Lesser men than he have made bold strokes, and planned and looked for success when the prospect of it was less fair and reasonable than it was to him.

Of Pontiac himself, as a subject of any thing like a full biography, very little is recorded. It is chiefly through his deeds that he is to be known. He is first mentioned as having probably been the leader of a band of the Ottawas in the disastrous affair of General Braddock, at Fort Du Quesne. He was the principal chief of the Ottawas, who were confederate with the Ojibwas and the Pottawattamies. The famous ranger Rogers was sent with a body of troops to take possession, in the name of the English crown, of the forts on the Lakes, which, of course, were ceded by the capitulation with the French. On his way, while encamped for a night at the present site of Cleveland, on Lake Erie, he was visited by an embassy consisting of some of Pontiac's warriors. We quote Mr. Parkman's account of the interview:—

"They proclaimed themselves an embassy from Pontiac, ruler of all that country, and directed, in his name, that the English should advance no farther until they had had an interview with the great chief, who was already close at hand. In truth, before the day closed, Pontiac himself appeared; and it is here, for the first time, that this remarkable man stands forth distinctly on the page of history. He greeted Rogers with the haughty demand, what was his business in that country, and how he dared enter it without his permission. Rogers informed him that the French were defeated, that Canada had surrendered, and that he was on his way to take possession of Detroit, and restore a general peace to white men and Indians alike. Pontiac listened with attention, but only replied that he should stand in the path of the English until morning. Having inquired if the strangers were in need of any thing which his country could afford, he withdrew with his chiefs, at nightfall, to his own encampment; while the English, ill at ease, and suspecting treachery, stood well on their guard throughout the night.

"In the morning, Pontiac returned to the camp with his attendant chiefs, and made his reply to Rogers's speech of the previous day. He was willing, he said, to live at peace with the English,

and suffer them to remain in his country as long as they treated him with due respect and deference. The Indian chiefs and provincial officers smoked the calumet together, and perfect harmony seemed established between them.

"Up to this time, Pontiac had been, in word and deed, the fast ally of the French; but it is easy to discern the motives that impelled him to renounce his old adherence. The American forest never produced a man more shrewd, politic, and ambitious. Ignorant as he was of what was passing in the world, he could clearly see that the French power was on the wane, and he knew his own interest too well to prop a falling cause. By making friends of the English, he hoped to gain powerful allies, who would aid his ambitious projects, and give him an increased influence over the tribes; and he flattered himself that the newcomers would treat him with the same studied respect which the French had always observed. In this, and all his other expectations of advantage from the English, he was doomed to disappointment.

"A cold storm of rain set in, and the rangers were detained some days in their encampment. During this time, Rogers had several interviews with Pontiac, and was constrained to admire the native vigor of his intellect, no less than the singular control which he exercised over those around him."—pp. 148, 149.

Pontiac is supposed to have been at this time about fifty years of age. Not being treated with the deference which he expected from the English, his purpose of deadly animosity was soon formed. He was encouraged by a falsehood, industriously circulated by the lower rabble of the French Canadians, that the French king had only been sleeping, and was about to wake up and reclaim his old sway. The fiery chief sent his ambassadors of war bearing the bloody hatchet and the wampum-belt over all the region towards the north of the Mississippi, as well as around the tributaries of the Ohio, the upper Lakes, and the borders of the Ottawa. His orators bore his message into every Indian camp and village. As his own spirit was infused into it, and it was faithfully repeated, it was received everywhere with intense enthusiasm. So broad and large a league promised success. It seemed as if the widely scattered posts of the English, each comparatively feeble when set upon by a thousand yelping savages roused to fury by their rage, would be easily taken. The result of Pontiac's war-message was, that a great council of chiefs from the various tribes was appointed to be held on the little river

Ecorces, near Detroit. And here the painted demons of the woods, made hideous by the savage war-colors with which they dyed their naked bodies, assembled in council, April 27, 1763. We should be glad to quote the wild, but most poetical and significant, legend which Pontiac rehearsed. We refer our readers to it.*

The substance of Mr. Parkman's volume is devoted to a very particular narrative of the workings of Pontiac's conspiracy, of the deeds of the savages, the experiences of the various English garrisons, and the events of the fierce struggle. We cannot follow the particulars of the fearfully exciting tale. We can only repeat of it as a whole, that it is told in a most masterly way, with a vigor of language, a brilliancy of image, and a fidelity of detail, which seem to throw us back into the very scenes and experiences of the struggle. Whoever is pleased with those touches of the pen. which, like a skilful painter's colors, present forest and lake scenery to the life, will find them abundant in this volume. Here, too, we have a fine delineation of the military character and the qualities of a soldier when assumed respectively by a savage and a civilized man. References to the legendary lore, the superstitions, the tender emotions, and the domestic usages of the natives are numerous and deeply interesting. The condition and circumstances of the little bodies of soldiers in the garrisons are vividly presented. We are impressed anew with the power of endurance, the amount and fertility of resource, and the capacity of adaptation to strange experiences which human beings manifest, when time and occasion call them out. We are made to realize the various forms in which true heroism and courage will show themselves. As we have laid down this volume to go to our nightly rest, we have thought of the blessings of peace and security in the darkness, and have weighed once more the incessantly tasked problem, that war should so often be the needful means of obtaining them.

The main interest of the narrative centres around the siege of Detroit, which Pontiac directed in person. Only at this post and at Fort Pitt (now Pittsburg) were the savages kept at bay. At all the other fortified places on the Lakes and frontiers their fierce hearts were gratified

* Pages 180 - 183.

by a feast of horrors. There were one hundred and twenty soldiers in the garrison at Detroit, commanded by the intrepid and resolute Major Gladwyn, and two small armed vessels in the river. The numbers of the beleaguering savages varied at intervals from six hundred to two thousand. Pontiac tried every artifice of stratagem, cunning, and treachery. It had been arranged at the Indian council, that he and forty of his warriors should introduce themselves into the fort to go through the calumet dance, and while there should take such observations as would enable them afterwards to act with some concert and effect. So far the scheme succeeded, but no further. The commander had warning through an Indian girl of their treacherous design, when soon afterwards they asked admission, with their weapons concealed, to hold a council with the English officers. Gladwyn boldly admitted them through his well-armed and watchful ranks, to let Pontiac see that his wiles were detected and despised. The war lasted for more than fifteen months, and was not brought to a close without the enlistment of Indian allies through the efforts of Sir William Johnson. During that long period the garrison at Detroit were compelled to practise a sleepless vigilance, being in constant peril from an unresting foe, and pinched with a scarcity of provisions. All conceivable alarms and hardships were endured, and the narrative of them has a most painfully absorbing interest.

War-parties of the savages would frequently pass in sight of the soldiers, bearing their bloody trophies, and the besieged learned in sad succession that the forest garrisons at Sandusky, St. Joseph's, Michilimackinac, Ouatanon, Miami, Presque Isle, [Erie] Le Bœuf, and Venango had all fallen before their savage foes. The following picture of the Indian summer occurs amid the catalogue of atrocities: —

"The summer had long since drawn to a close, and the verdant landscape around Detroit had undergone an ominous transformation. Touched by the first October frosts, the forest glowed like a bed of tulips; and all along the river bank, the painted foliage, brightened by the autumnal sun, reflected its mingled colors upon the dark water below. The western wind was fraught with life and exhilaration, and in the clear, sharp air, the form of the fish-hawk, sailing over the distant headland, seemed almost within range of the sportsman's gun.

"A week or two elapsed, and then succeeded that gentler season which bears among us the name of the Indian summer; when a light haze rests upon the morning landscape, and the many-colored woods seem wrapped in the thin drapery of a veil; when the air is mild and calm as that of early June, and at evening the sun goes down amid a warm, voluptuous beauty, that may well outrival the softest tints of Italy. But through all the still and breathless afternoon, the leaves have fallen fast in the woods, like flakes of snow, and every thing betokens that the last melancholy change is at hand. And, in truth, on the morrow the sky is overspread with cold and stormy clouds, and a raw, piercing wind blows angrily from the northeast. The shivering sentinel quickens his step along the rampart, and the half-naked Indian folds his tattered blanket close around him. The shrivelled leaves are blown from the trees, and soon the gusts are whistling and howling amid gray, naked twigs and mossy branches. Here and there, indeed, the beech-tree, as the wind sweeps among its rigid boughs, shakes its pale assemblage of crisp and rustling leaves. The pines and firs, with their rough tops of dark evergreen, bend and moan in the wind, and the crow caws sullenly, as, struggling against the gusts, he flaps his black wings above the denuded woods." — pp. 404, 405.

Mr. Parkman follows the war into its shifting scenes along the frontiers, and even close up to the settlements of the whites. For, while its fury there fell upon the borders of Pennsylvania, Virginia, and Maryland, the banks of the Mohawk and the Hudson were fiercely menaced. The bold and vigorous Bouquet made his way through hordes of the furious savages skulking in the woods for more than a hundred miles, and, after a hot and murderous struggle, led his little band to the relief of Fort Pitt. He afterwards pushed farther into the West, to bring the Indians to terms and to reclaim captives. The strange course which the Quakers pursued, and the alarming strifes which followed in the settlements, are faithfully presented by our author.

The dark tale is brought to a close in the Illinois country, where Pontiac meets with death in a form not suited to a hero's dignity and renown.

Never can this sad page in history be written with greater fidelity, or with a more skilful pen. The volume makes a permanent addition to the most honored shelves of our libraries. G. E. E.

Art. VI.—ANIMAL MAGNETISM.*

Some of our readers may be startled, and some, perhaps, displeased, to find this subject made the topic of a grave article in a journal like this. Amongst us it has for many years gone very much out of notice. It may seem unwise to recall attention to it at all, and out of place to do it here. By most of those who ought to be, from their education and position, the best judges, it was never considered worthy of serious investigation; and those who interested themselves in it were rather looked upon as giving countenance to a foolish, if not an injurious imposture. Latterly it had passed almost entirely into the hands of those who made it a matter of public display for the purpose of profit, and their exhibitions were attended chiefly by the thoughtless and curious, for amusement rather than instruction.

But whatever be the true character of Animal Magnetism, whether it be entirely or in part a delusion or an imposture, it is very clear that the method hitherto pursued is not to be successful in exposing or extinguishing it. It is now three quarters of a century since Mesmer first introduced it to the world. After a thorough and apparently fair examination, a commission of scientific men of high character then reported against it. This would have been supposed to have given to it its death-blow. But it was not thus to be disposed of. With varying fortune, it has continued ever since the subject of more or less attention. Some individuals have devoted almost their whole lives to its investigation, or to its employment as a remedy. They have been ridiculed, denounced, and almost persecuted. Some medical men, on account of their interest in it, have been denied the common courtesies of professional intercourse. Still they have persevered, with the usual pertinacity of the advocates of new doctrines, and with a zeal, it may turn out,

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* 1. *Letters to a Candid Inquirer, on Animal Magnetism.* By William Gregory, M. D., F. R. S. E., Professor of Chemistry in the University of Edinburgh. Philadelphia: Blanchard & Lea. 1851. 12mo. pp. 384

2. *Mesmerism in India, and its Practical Application in Surgery and Medicine.* By James Esdaile, M. D., Civil Assistant Surgeon, H. C. S. Bengal. Hartford: Silas Andrus & Son. 1851. 12mo. pp. 259.

worthy of a better cause. However this may be, it has continued the object of interest and investigation in spite of every obstacle. Now it has, for a time, passed somewhat out of notice; and again it has been brought forth anew; always with an increase in the marvellous character of the phenomena which were said to be produced, and an increase, also, in the amount of evidence by which their reality was said to be supported.

This is a remarkable fact. A fact which calls for serious reflection. Animal Magnetism has been pronounced, by most of those whom the world looks up to as guides to opinion on scientific subjects, to be mainly a delusion and a fraud. Its votaries have been ridiculed as fools, or stigmatized as charlatans or knaves. Time and again, after some successful exposure of deception or imposition, its enemies have proclaimed that they have utterly demolished it. Having proved the magnetists to be "false knaves," they have imagined, with a well-known dramatic character, that "it would go near to be thought so presently." But so it has not turned out. The snake has been only scotched. After all that has been done to destroy it, the science, for so we must be permitted to call it for convenience of speech, is now in a more prosperous condition than ever, and ranks among its believers and advocates some names by no means contemptible in the scientific world. This, we repeat, is a remarkable fact, — a fact upon which those who have any interest in the opinions which mankind hold on subjects of importance would do well to ponder. How has it happened that a system like this, which professes to court inquiry, to lay itself open to examination, has not been more successfully put down? Have the men whose duty it is to superintend public belief on such subjects, and see that false opinions do not prevail, and injurious practices get foothold, bestirred themselves wisely in this matter? Have they given themselves to a thorough investigation? Have they candidly sifted the evidence? Have they looked at both sides? Particularly, have medical men done this? Notoriously they have not. With a few exceptions, they have at once pronounced the alleged phenomena impossible, and consequently not to require investigation. They have not only kept themselves aloof from all inquiry, but have held up to ridicule all others who were willing to engage in it.

The consequence has been, what might be expected, that the important questions relating to the subject remain unsettled. It has fallen chiefly into the hands of persons without training as observers; governed mainly by a vulgar curiosity for the marvellous; incompetent judges of the kind and amount of evidence necessary to establish facts in such inquiries; credulous; pursuing their object without method, without definite purpose, and consequently arriving at no definite results. Still worse, it has been taken up by those who found in the exhibition of its phenomena an easy method of collecting and amusing popular audiences; and thus it has been made a means of support by the adventurous, needy, and unprincipled. Where an audience is gathered to be amused by marvels, if the marvels do not come in the natural way, they are to be manufactured. Hence with the real phenomena, if there are any, have been constantly mingled the simulated; or the real have been exalted or misrepresented. The subject has thus been so managed, has been in such unclean hands, has been so mixed up with credulity, weakness, delusion, and fraud, on the part of those interested in it, that there has come to be something repulsive in its very name, and one feels himself almost soiled by any connection with it.

Every body who has in past times taken an interest in Animal Magnetism will have various scenes recalled to his memory which confirm this statement; and this even where the principal performers were undoubtedly honest in their belief, and sincerely desirous of exhibiting the facts of their science in a clear and convincing light. Our imagination vividly paints to us some pictures of this description that have much in them ludicrous and amusing, but which yet lead to sober reflection. The subject is a pale and apparently sickly woman, seated in an armchair, asleep, with a somewhat peculiar expression of countenance. She is surrounded by a group, we had almost said a mob, of well-dressed persons, male and female, all eager in their looks, all with an obvious purpose on which they are intent, but differing widely in the motive which governs it. There is first the magnetizer, the showman, whose credit, and the credit of whose science, is concerned in the success of the exhibition. His position is something like that of the inventor of a

new machine on which he has staked his reputation. He must make it work well, or his fortune is lost. He is nervous, fidgety, and anxious. He interprets every phenomenon in the most favorable way. He has an excuse for every failure, a reason for every defect. A part of his audience have come merely to gratify a vulgar and indefinite curiosity, like that which carries them to see an expert juggler or a learned pig. Others are partisans; they have full faith, are ready to believe in any marvel, to imagine wonders where they do not exist, and to attribute the most simple appearances to the influence of a new and mysterious agency. Then there is another party,—sharper than either,—the dogged sceptics, who come to misconstrue every thing the other way. The former have minds prepared to believe every thing; the latter, to believe nothing. The former gaze as on a great mystery; the latter as on a great humbug. These states of mind equally disqualify for a fair appreciation of the evidence which the case may present. They equally interfere with the fair development of the phenomena; and the obvious credulity of the one only serves to render more keen the incredulity of the other. All are prepared with an *experimentum crucis;* and all are eager to follow out their own plans for showing the wonder or exposing the fraud. The subject, consequently, undergoes a variety of inflictions. She is choked by brandy or suffocated by snuff. Hartshorn is introduced into the nostrils, or dropped upon her tongue. One roughly pulls open her eyes, another twists her hair, at the same time that others are treading upon her feet, or thrusting pins into the tenderest parts of her flesh. The tongs and shovel, or the house-bell, are rung in her ears, or some one suddenly displays and discharges a pistol in her face, to the dismay of the company if not of the subject. Every observer draws from the exhibition the inference with which he came preoccupied. The believer finds in the successful experiments the confirmation he desires; for the unsuccessful, he has a ready apology. The unbeliever perceives in the former only a dogged power of endurance which hundreds have exhibited before, but in the latter just such an exposure of imposition as he had predicted.*

* Lest we may be supposed to exaggerate the sort of treatment to which

This has been the course pursued for the most part. Indeed, we can call to mind but two exceptions. About twenty years ago, Andral, a distinguished French pathologist and physician, entered into a very fair examination of the subject, and gave its results in several lectures delivered before a medical audience. Seven or eight years ago an article appeared in the principal English medical journal, in which the claims of Animal Magnetism were fully, candidly, and ably discussed. This article was characterized by the liberal spirit which has always marked the productions of its writer, Dr. Forbes, the distinguished editor of that journal,—a name well known and justly honored on both sides of the Atlantic. In this paper the lines were accurately drawn between the phenomena for which satisfactory evidence is offered, and those for which it is not. Even this article, unfavorable as the conclusions of its writer were, upon the whole, to the claims of the magnetists, was regarded by most medical men as too liberal in its tone and spirit; and as conceding too much when it admitted magnetism to have any claim to be considered a legitimate topic of scientific inquiry.

It is not to be denied that this general reluctance to investigate the subject may be in a good measure attributed to the extravagant assertions of the partisans as to the phenomena exhibited, and the loose character of the evidence they bring in their support. Thus they assert the possession, by their somnambulists, of powers equal to those possessed by magicians, enchanters, and prophets; and yet the evidence they offer is no more than would be sufficient to establish the reality of any fact, in common physical science, against which there was no anterior improbability. They seem to have no conception that any thing more than this is necessary; or

magnetic subjects have been exposed, we take the liberty of mentioning a circumstance once related to the writer of this article, by a surgeon from the interior of the State of New York. Being present at an exhibition of the kind above described, when a young man was magnetized, he wished to satisfy himself of his entire insensibility to pain. With this view, watching his opportunity, and unobserved by the company, he thrust the blade of his penknife through the back of the subject's hand, passing it between the bones, till it came out upon the palm. There was not the slightest evidence that the instrument had been felt, and the operator was satisfied. He did not seem to be aware that he had done any thing more than gratify a laudable curiosity.

that the marvellous character of the phenomena demands evidence of a different kind from, and vastly greater in amount than, that which is required in ordinary investigations. If a somnambulist asserts that he has travelled to the moon, and gives an account of its inhabitants, their dwellings, and mode of life, we do not render him that easy credence we should, were he to narrate to us his experiences in a voyage to some island in the Pacific, and his observations on its inhabitants. But many apostles of magnetism seem really to have no distinct idea that there is any difference in the two cases. If the witnesses are both honest, why should you not equally receive their testimony? It is hard getting along, we admit, with those whose perceptions are so obtuse as this. Still, this does not afford a sufficient excuse for the neglect on the part of those competent to set this matter right. Particularly, we think it not creditable to the medical profession that they have shown so little disposition to engage in an inquiry for which their education, their training as observers, and their knowledge of the healthy and diseased condition of the human body, so peculiarly qualify them. The investigation was the more their duty, because among the influences of the new agent for which there seemed to be the best evidence was that which it is said to possess, of so controlling the condition of the nervous system as to alleviate the sufferings of disease, or even, in certain cases, to diminish the severity of the disease itself.

But in spite of this general neglect or contempt in which Animal Magnetism has been held, it has still, as we have said, kept its ground, and is now again forcing itself upon public notice. Within the last year it has been exciting much attention abroad, and especially among the scientific men of the Scottish metropolis. No doubt, some of those interested have been led into many extravagances, as has always happened where the subject has excited general attention. Notwithstanding this, the character of many of the individuals concerned is an earnest that at least some faithful observations will be made, and probably some trustworthy deductions be the fruit. In a published letter, Sir David Brewster, a name universally known, after describing some experiments he had witnessed, uses the following language:—

"The gentlemen present were the Duke of Argyle, Mr. Callander, Colonel Gore Brown, Professor Gregory, and myself; and I believe they were all as convinced as I was, that the phenomena witnessed were real phenomena, and as well established as any other facts in physical science. The process by which the operator produces them, the mode by which that process acts upon the mind of the patient, and the reference of the phenomena to some general law of the mind of man, may remain long unknown; but it is not difficult to see in the recent discoveries of M. Dubois Reymond and M. Matteucci, and in the laws which regulate the relative intensity of the external and internal impressions of the nerves of sensation, some not very indistinct indications of that remarkable process by which minds of peculiar sensibility are temporarily placed under the dominion of physical influences, developed and directed by some living agent."

The names of other persons are mentioned in connection with this inquiry, and among them we notice those of Professors Simpson, Bennett, and Gregory, as of well-known reputation. We do not understand them, except the latter, as entertaining any thing like a full belief in the marvels of the subjects. We merely regard the fact that men of this description are interested in it, and are willing to give themselves to the examination and discussion of the phenomena, as affording ground to expect that the matter will at length have a fair hearing, and the actual amount of the reality which it possesses be determined.

Beside the desirableness of this examination on scientific grounds, there is a reason why this subject has special claim on *our* attention, and why it should be brought before the readers of a religious journal. It has, indirectly perhaps, some connection with the grounds of religious belief. Minds deeply interested in its investigations, particularly minds impressed with a strong belief in its reality, are likely to be influenced in some way, favorably or unfavorably, in this respect. More than one person has had doubts removed of the reality of spiritual existence and of a future state, by becoming a convert to Mesmerism. On the other hand, we have the painful example of Miss Martineau, who, at a mature age, and after a life of serious reliance on the truths of religion, has, apparently as a consequence of her researches in Animal Magnetism, been brought out of the thick darkness of Christianity into the marvellous light of the bald-

est atheism. The simple fact that it has such influences is a sufficient reason why the subject should be set before the world, if possible, in its true light.

Let not our purpose be misunderstood. We have not the space or the materials for a full examination of this subject. We do not mean to discuss at large the probabilities or improbabilities of the alleged phenomena. We mean simply to draw attention to them, with the hope that those competent to the investigation will be convinced that it is their duty to make it. We do not suppose the various questions which arise can be settled now. We only wish that they may be put in the way of being settled. Years of patient investigation will be necessary before this result can be expected. This examination the world must come to, sooner or later. The sooner, the better will it be for the influence to be exerted upon the minds of men, not only in relation to this subject, but to many others to which their attention is now directed, and that are more or less connected with it, as to the principles of evidence involved in their decision, as well as in their intrinsic nature.

We propose to give, in the first place, an account of what the full believers in Animal Magnetism claim as true with regard to it. In doing this, we simply follow the account given in one of the works before us, the "Letters" of Professor Gregory. We select this because it is the most recent, and is the production of one whose standing in the scientific world, whose personal character and relations in society, assure us of his honesty and his perfect belief in what he asserts. Whatever is advanced by an individual in his position is entitled to respectful attention. He has a right to a hearing. We may not be convinced by his statements; we are not to yield to his authority; we may find cause to believe that he is an imaginative observer, and comes, without sufficient hesitation, to the most startling conclusions. But we have the security of knowing that we deal with a man who sincerely seeks the truth, and is free from trick and imposture in endeavoring to impress his convictions upon others. This is by no means unimportant as removing one of the embarrassments of an examination into phenomena which we have been accustomed to regard as only possible upon the supposition of

supernatural agency, and consequently as exceeding the bounds of human belief; for the higher states of Animal Magnetism, according to his account, develop marvels which, for their presumed incompatibility with the generally received laws of physical and physiological science, stand by the side of the miracles of religions, true and false, the inspiration of prophets, and the magical performances of wizards and enchanters.

In our statement we follow our author in proceeding from the more common and less wonderful to the infrequent and extraordinary, in other words, from the lower to the higher developments of the magnetic power. We do not enter into a description of the various processes employed, but merely of the results obtained; not because the former are not interesting and important, but because they are not necessary to our present purpose, and our limits are hardly ample enough even for the statement of what is essential to it.

The first and simplest condition is the magnetic sleep. The phenomena of this vary much in kind and degree. It may differ little from natural sleep, and the subject may be roused from it as from natural sleep by impressions on the senses; it varies, however, in the mode of its coming on, and in some other slight particulars. First, there

> "is a twitching of the eyelids, which begin to droop, while, even when the eyelids remain open, there is in many cases a veil, as it were, drawn before the eyes, concealing the operator's face and other objects. Now also comes on a drowsiness, and, after a time, consciousness is suddenly lost, and on awaking the patient has no idea whatever how long it is since he fell asleep, nor what has occurred during his sleep. The whole is a blank, but he generally wakes, with a deep sigh, rather suddenly, and says he has had a very pleasant sleep, without the least idea whether for five minutes or for five hours." — pp. 77, 78.

But though he has no recollection, the sleep has not been a blank; he may have been engaged in thinking, observing, and speaking. He answers when spoken to by the operator, and sometimes by others, sensibly and rationally. If desired, he will rise and walk, with more or less confidence and security. Sometimes he is gifted with a preternatural acuteness of hearing, and on the other hand he may be deaf to all sounds but the voice of

the magnetizer. A bell may be rung or a pistol fired without his notice. According to Dr. Gregory, there is a remarkable change in the countenance when the sleeper is spoken to, and in the voice when he speaks. There is an improvement in both, and in some to a very high degree. He seems indeed like another individual, or, if the same individual, "in a different and distinct phase of his being, and that phase a higher one."

"As a general rule, but not a rule without some exceptions, the sleeper does not remember, after waking, what he may have seen, felt, tasted, smelled, heard, spoken, or done during his sleep; but when next put to sleep, he recollects perfectly all that has occurred, not only in the last sleep, but in all former sleeps, and, as in the ordinary state, with greater or less accuracy, although usually very accurately indeed. He lives, in fact, a distinct life in the sleep, and has what is called a double or divided consciousness: of course, sleepers differ in their powers of memory in the magnetic state, as they do in their ordinary state, if not to the same extent.

"But when in the magnetic state, the sleeper is not always entirely cut off from his usual state, even in those cases in which he has no trace, on waking, left in his mind, of the actions or sensations of the sleep. On the contrary, he often speaks in the magnetic sleep, with accuracy, of things known to him in his usual state. It is remarkable, that he finds, in general, a great difficulty, or even an impossibility, in *naming* persons or things in this way. He will define and describe them, but very often either cannot or will not name them. If you name them, he will assent, but would rather not do it himself.

"He often loses, in the magnetic sleep, his sense of identity, so that he cannot tell his own name, or gives himself another, frequently that of the operator; while yet he will speak sensibly and accurately on all other points. He very often gives to his operator, and to other persons, wrong names, but always, so far as I have seen, the same name to the same person.

"The phenomenon of double or divided consciousness has frequently been described as a spontaneous one, and persons have lived, for years, in an alternation of two consciousnesses, in the one of which they forget all they had ever learned in the other, and have had, therefore, to be educated, like a child, in the former.

"The same thing occasionally happens in Animal Magnetism. The sleeper has often to learn, as a child, things with which, in his usual state, he is quite familiar, such as reading or writing; but this is by no means always observed; possibly, it is seldom looked for." — pp. 82, 83.

When his attention is directed to certain objects, he will speak as if he saw them, though his eyes remain firmly closed. Often he feels them with his hand, places them on the forehead, the top or back of the head, or the epigastrium, and then describes them, though he could not when held before his closed eyes. He talks of seeing them. He is not always, though he is usually, deaf to other sounds than the voice of the operator.

"I have seen subjects, who readily heard and answered every question addressed to them by any of the persons present, without being in contact with them, or being purposely placed *en rapport* with them. In some of these cases, the subjects, either spontaneously, or at the will of the operator, or by passes, &c. made by him, pass into a higher state, and then instantly become deaf to all sounds except his voice. Nay, I have seen and examined one very remarkable case, in which the sleeper, when she had passed spontaneously into a higher state of lucidity, became deaf even to the operator's voice, unless he spoke to her through the tips of her fingers, holding his mouth, while speaking, so as to touch them. When this was done, she started, and after a moment answered questions thus put, as readily as before. You might bellow in her ear, or fire off a pistol, without her countenance indicating the slightest change, or without her ceasing for an instant to dwell on and describe what she was engaged in looking at, which she readily did without questions being asked at all. Any one else could converse with this subject in the same way, and I did so for an hour or two. In some similar cases, any person, besides the operator, must be placed *en rapport* with the subject, physically or mentally, by the operator, before they are heard or answered. In others, again, we must address our words to the epigastrium, or to the head. There is here, as in all these phenomena, an endless variety in the details." — pp. 84, 85.

Insensibility to pain is another of the phenomena which may occur in the magnetic state. This, it is stated, is effected by the will, expressed or silent, of the operator. In many cases it amounts to only a diminished sensibility. The subject is awakened by very severe bodily applications, while he does not perceive the lighter applications. But in other cases he is completely insensible, the most severe operations being performed without his perception or recollection. In this there is a resemblance to the effects of ether, which produces sometimes a partial, and sometimes a total insensibility. As we

shall have occasion to state hereafter, this is among the best proved of the phenomena.

The sleeper is often so much under the control of the magnetizer, that the latter may fix the duration of the sleep, and it terminates at the time assigned, or, if this be not done, the sleeper, if asked, will state the duration of his sleep, and will rouse up at the time he has fixed. He will also give directions as to the mode of proceeding to magnetize him in future, so as to increase his magnetic powers. The magnetizer has also the power of causing the subject to forget whatever he pleases, his own name, and whatever has occurred in the magnetic state. He can exercise a certain control over the muscles by his simple will, producing an inability to move an arm or leg, to rise or sit down, or a general cataleptic state. So, too, he can cause the subject instantaneously to imitate, "with the most perfect and admirable mimicry," every gesture of the operator and every tone of his voice. If he speaks a language unknown to the subject, he imitates him; if he laughs, the magnetized person laughs also; and so of gestures; and this even if his eyes be entirely closed, and the operator be behind him.

"The subject may be rendered happy and gay, or sad and dejected; angry, or pleased; liberal, or stingy; proud, or vain; pugnacious, or pacific; bold, or timid; hopeful, or despondent; insolent, or respectful; &c., &c. He may be made to sing, to spout, to laugh, to weep, to act, to dance, to shoot, to fish, to preach, to pray, to deliver an eloquent oration, or to excogitate a profound argument. All this the magnetizer, in many cases, can cause him to do, and indeed a great deal more, by commanding him to do it, as I have often seen, nay, as I have myself done. I have heard a sleeper give a lecture on temperance, or on Animal Magnetism; I have heard the most beautiful prayers, and most poetic imagery, from the mouths of persons who, in their ordinary state, were quite unequal to such things. And, as we shall see hereafter, all this can also be done when the subject is in the conscious state.

"In all such experiments I have observed, and it has been observed and recorded by others, that the gestures and voice, the manner and expression, in short, the whole physiognomical and natural language, is extremely perfect. The attitudes of pride, humility, anger, fear, kindness, pugnacity, devotion, or meditation, and all others, are, with peculiarities in each case, depending on the idiosyncrasy of the individual, beautiful studies for the

artist. The most accomplished actor or mimic, a Garrick or a Mathews, falls short of the wonderful truth and nature of these attitudes and gestures, as I have seen them in numerous cases, and most frequently in persons of limited intellectual cultivation, who, in their waking state, showed no peculiar talent for pantomime.

"I have already stated, and may here repeat, that subjects of a superior refinement of character exhibit, as all do more or less, an exaltation of refinement when in the magnetic sleep; I now add, that they further, when the higher sentiments are intentionally excited, exhibit a purity, beauty, and sublimity of gesture, attitude, and expression of countenance, equalling, nay, far surpassing, all that the greatest artist has ever conceived or executed." — pp. 91, 92.

Subjects become very sensible to the influence of music; "they usually assume attitudes and gestures corresponding to the character of the music. A reel or quadrille will set them to dancing; those of a fine temperament do so with singular grace, while the clownish stump about with much vigor, but little elegance."

The magnetic state may be produced in some subjects by the mere will of the operator; either in the same room, in an adjacent one, or even at a considerable distance. This happens only after they have previously been thoroughly magnetized. "With susceptible subjects, distance is a matter of little moment." The following example of this is given by Dr. Gregory.

"Mr. Lewis met a party of fifty ladies and gentlemen in my house, one evening in the end of November or beginning of December, 1850. He acted on the company *en masse*, and affected several, among them a lady, a member of my family, who was susceptible, and had frequently been magnetized by others. This lady, when magnetized, loses the power of her arms, her eyes are closed, and the sensations she experiences are very marked and well known to her. Mr. Lewis, not being told how strongly she had been affected by him, did not do any thing to remove the effect, and the consequence was a headache, to which she is naturally very subject. This she ascribed to her not having been demagnetized, and it continued next morning. When I saw Mr. Lewis, after my lecture, at 11 A. M., he asked me how the lady was. I mentioned the headache, as well as her idea of the cause of it. Mr. Lewis then said, 'O, never mind the headache. I shall think of her some time during the day, and dismiss her headache.' This I begged him to do, as I knew that

such things could be done. He then left me. When I returned home, at 5 P. M., I had quite forgotten this conversation, when the lady in question recalled it by saying, as I entered the room, 'What do you think of this? I have been magnetized in your absence.' 'Indeed? by whom?' 'By nobody. I was sitting at the piano-forte, playing, at half-past three, when I felt as if strongly magnetized; my arms lost their power; I could no longer play, and had all the usual sensations. In a few minutes I was compelled to lie down on the sofa, and fell into a short magnetic sleep. When I woke, my headache was quite gone.' 'Did you mention this to any one at the time?' 'I was alone, but, just as I woke, a lady, who was here last night, called, and I told her of it, adding, that I felt sure that Mr. Lewis was magnetizing me.' I then said that he had undertaken to do so, but that I did not know whether he had done it or not. In the evening I saw Mr. Lewis again, at a large party, and, in the presence of Dr. W. F. Cumming, who felt much interested in the case, I asked him whether he had kept his promise about the lady's headache. He said he had. Dr. Cumming then asked him at what time, when he at once answered, 'At half past three, when I returned to my lodgings. I could not do it sooner.'" — pp. 97, 98.

A person, if commanded in the magnetic state to do a certain thing after waking, feels himself absolutely impelled to do it, in other words, to obey the magnetizer. This, it seems, has been usefully applied. "I lately saw a person," says Dr. Gregory, "who had been induced to promise, while in his sleep, to abstain from fermented liquors, and had adhered to that promise for three or four months, without any desire to break it."

These, though very briefly described, are what are called the lower phenomena. It will be obvious to most medical men, and to others who are at all familiar with natural somnambulists and with the symptoms of nervous and hysterical diseases, that there is, with some exceptions, nothing more extraordinary in them than in cases which occasionally occur spontaneously. We mention this merely as a fact to be kept in view in the study of this subject, and as removing one objection to the admission of the phenomena, namely, that they are in themselves incredible and impossible. An objection may be strong against the probability of their being produced in this artificial manner, or against the kind of evidence adduced, but this is a different thing from the *a*

priori objection to the credibility of the phenomena themselves. Most of these — we do not say all — are perfectly credible, because we have ample evidence that they occur spontaneously.

Something like this may, perhaps, be alleged of the higher phenomena, by the believers in Mesmerism to its full extent. It is certainly true that there have been individual cases related, which approach in their wonderful character the most wonderful of those related of the subjects of magnetism. Still there is this great difference, that, while only single cases are related of the latter class, and these not on the most unequivocal authority, the former are of frequent occurrence, and have the attestation of competent observers.

We speak of the higher phenomena as if they were different in kind. In fact this is not so. The lower pass into the higher by insensible gradations. Yet where the latter exist in a very marked degree, they are sufficiently distinct from the former to authorize this distinctive appellation.

Sympathy is one of these higher phenomena, of which a slighter degree is perceived in the earlier stage. It exists between the subject and the operator; or even between the subject and any person with whom he is placed *en rapport*, to use the technical term of the science. "The sleeper acquires the power of perceiving every sensation, bodily and mental, of his magnetizer." He feels them as intensely as if they took place in himself. If the former eats, the latter does it in pantomime, and, if asked, declares he is eating whatever his magnetizer is eating, and expresses the same pleasure or disgust that he would if actually going through the process himself. The same is the case with the smell, with the touch, and feeling; but is somewhat doubtful as regards the sight and hearing. There may be, also, a community of emotions, the patient smiling or laughing when the operator does; but this has been most strikingly illustrated in the effect sometimes produced upon the subject when an inexperienced operator has become alarmed and anxious at the phenomena which he has, unexpectedly to himself, been successful in producing. In this case, quite serious nervous affections, and even convulsions, have been produced by this sympathy. In connection with this part of

his subject, Dr. Gregory expresses his disapprobation of exciting powerful emotions, as is often done, for the purpose of producing an effect in public exhibitions. He considers it in some degree even dangerous. We quote what he says on this point, as it serves to exhibit the light in which he regards the whole subject, and the perfectly conscientious, as well as sincere, interest which he takes in it: —

"Public exhibitions of the phenomena of Animal Magnetism are not, in my humble opinion, good things. I have already given some reasons against them, and I would here add, that to employ these wonderful and beautiful facts merely to excite wonder and produce amusement, is a great abuse of our powers. Animal Magnetism is not a plaything; it is a serious, I would say, a sacred thing, which ought to be studied with reverence, and not degraded to minister to the idle curiosity of those who regard it merely as an exhibition, to be forgotten the hour after it has served to gratify our love of novelty, or to raise a laugh. In private alone can it be properly studied. No one in a public hall, save, perhaps, one or two close to the subject, can see the phenomena as they ought to be seen, or judge aright of their truth, and of the beautiful evidence of that truth afforded by the countenance and manner of the sleeper. I have seen many persons who came from a public lecture quite unsatisfied, convinced in five minutes in a private room, where they could really see what was done and hear what was said." — pp. 106, 107.

Strong effects are also often produced on the subject by by-standers, and this is another reason why public exhibitions are disapproved, and why they so often fail to bring out phenomena which are readily educed in private.

Another form of sympathy is thought-reading. The subject perceives and describes the present thoughts of the magnetizer, or even of another person placed *en rapport;* and not only so, but partakes of his memory, refers to past facts, and even to facts which have been known to him, but which he has forgotten. This power develops itself in a variety of ways and degrees.

Sometimes the sympathy is such, that the subject perceives the bodily condition of the magnetizer, and will say he has a head-ache, a side-ache, a disease of the lungs, the stomach, &c. A lock of hair will even establish such a sympathy. These subjects have often been supposed to possess the power of indicating the remedies for the mor-

bid conditions they detect. Dr. Gregory remarks, however, that, in all such cases that he has seen, "the sleeper uses or recommends the class of remedies, or the plan of treatment, which he has picked up from having been treated himself, or from having been taught by some practitioner. Thus one prescribes hydropathy, another homœopathic remedies, a third mesmeric treatment, and so on."

The next stage is that of clairvoyance, or the "direct and immediate perception of absent or distant objects, without the use of the eyes." This is usually first observed with regard to the hand of the operator, which the subject sees with his eyes closed, not only when it is in front of him, but also at the side of the head, above it, and behind it. At first it seems enveloped in a mist; this clears off, and the hand is then distinctly seen, of a natural color, or gray, or devoid of color. Light is sometimes seen issuing from the tips of the fingers. In the same way he may perceive other objects in the room around him, both before and behind.

This, however, is but feeble clairvoyance compared with some other examples. Another form of it consists in the power of perceiving

"objects which are wrapped up in paper, or inclosed in boxes or other opaque receptacles. Thus, I have seen objects described, as to form, color, surface, markings, down to minute flaws and chipped edges, when inclosed in paper, cotton, pasteboard boxes, wooden boxes, boxes of papier maché, and of metal. I have further known letters minutely described, the address, postmarks, seal, and even the contents read off when the letters were inclosed in thick envelopes or boxes."—p. 120.

The reality of this form of clairvoyance is stated with so much confidence, and the evidence of it is of such a character, that we give some of the details at length. It would seem that all magnetizers have not the same power of producing this phenomenon, and, indeed, the same remark is true of all the others. A gentleman by the name of Buckley, to whom our author often refers, is peculiarly gifted in this particular, and he not only succeeds in producing this form of clairvoyance in the sleeping and unconscious state of his patients, but also when they are conscious.

"Before describing Major Buckley's method, I should mention, that he had been for some time in the habit of producing

magnetic sleep and clairvoyance in the sleep, before he discovered that, in his subjects, the sleep might often be dispensed with. The following details are abridged from letters with which Major B. has very kindly favored me.

"Major Buckley first ascertains whether his subjects are susceptible, by making with his hands passes above and below their hands, from the wrist downwards. If certain sensations, such as tingling, numbness, &c., are strongly felt, he knows that he will be able to produce the magnetic sleep. But to ascertain whether he can obtain conscious clairvoyance, he makes slow passes from his own forehead to his own chest. If this produce a blue light in his face, strongly visible, the subject will probably acquire conscious clairvoyance. If not, or if the light be pale, the subject must first be rendered clairvoyant in the sleep. Taking those subjects who see a very deep blue light, he continues to make passes over his own face, and also over the object, a box, or a nut, for example, in which written or printed words are inclosed, which the clairvoyant is to read. Some subjects require only a pass or two to be made, others require many. They describe the blue light as rendering the box or nut transparent, so that they can read what is inside. If too many passes be made by Major B., the blue light becomes so deep that they cannot read, and some reverse passes must be made, to render the light less deep. Major Buckley has thus produced conscious clairvoyance in 89 persons, of whom 44 have been able to read mottoes contained in nut-shells, purchased by other parties for the experiment. The longest motto thus read contained 98 words. Many subjects will read motto after motto without one mistake. In this way, the mottoes contained in 4,860 nut-shells have been read, some of them, indeed, by persons in the mesmeric sleep, but most of them by persons in the conscious state, many of whom have never been put to sleep. In boxes, upwards of 36,000 words have been read; in one paper, 371 words. Including those who have read words contained in boxes when in the sleep, 148 persons have thus read. It is to be observed that, in a few cases, the words may have been read by thought-reading, as the persons who put them in the boxes were present; but in most cases no one who knew the words has been present, and they must therefore have been read by direct clairvoyance. Every precaution has been taken. The nuts, inclosing mottoes, for example, have been purchased of 40 different confectioners, and have been sealed up until read. It may be added, that, of the 44 persons who have read mottoes in nuts by waking or conscious clairvoyance, 42 belong to the higher class of society; and the experiments have been made in the presence of many other persons. These experiments appear to me admirably contrived,

and I can perceive no reason whatever to doubt the entire accuracy of the facts. It would of course be tedious to enumerate so many experiments, all of the same kind; but I shall select one or two of the most striking as examples.

"Case 9. — Sir T. Willshire took home with him a nest of boxes belonging to Major Buckley, and placed in the inner box a slip of paper, on which he had written a word. Some days later he brought back the boxes, sealed up in paper, and asked one of Major Buckley's clairvoyantes to read the word. Major B. made passes over the boxes, when she said she saw the word 'Concert.' Sir T. Willshire declared that she was right as to the first and last letters, but that the word was different. She persisted, when he told her that the word was 'Correct.' But, on opening the boxes, the word proved to be 'Concert.' This case is very remarkable; for, had the clairvoyante read the word by thought-reading, she would have read it according to the belief of Sir T. Willshire, who had either intended to write 'correct,' or in the interval forgot that he had written 'concert,' but certainly believed the former to be the word.

"Case 10. — A lady, one of Major Buckley's waking clairvoyantes, read 103 mottoes, contained in nuts, in one day, without a pass being made on that occasion. In this, and in many other cases, the power of reading in nuts, boxes, and envelopes remained, when once induced, for about a month, and then disappeared." — pp. 270–272.

But even greater wonders than these are related. The sleeper can also see into the next room, and describe its furniture and what takes place there. He can pass into another house, and describe it in the same way. He can visit distant countries, and give an account of persons, places, and events, as is stated, with perfect accuracy. He can also see persons who are asked for, and describe them as to person, complexion, and dress, though neither the operator nor the subject has ever seen them. Persons can in this way also be seen when a ring, a piece of their dress, a letter, or a lock of their hair is presented. The clairvoyant can even see persons who are no longer alive, but usually they do not speak of them as dead, but as "not like us," as being "shelled," or employ some sort of circumlocution to avoid the direct use of the word *death* or *dead*. Sometimes the persons seen are those of former ages, and the events in which they have been concerned are also perceived.

"One clairvoyant, for example, traced the history of a ring

for about 300 years, and was found to be accurate for 70 or 80 years back or more. The shelled lady seen by E., as mentioned in the preceding paragraph, was in the costume, and the room had the furniture, of 280 to 300 years ago. She saw various events connected with this shelled lady, and when asked what she had died of, started back in surprise, and, with a very significant gesture, said, that she died of having her head cut off." — p. 130.

The next power claimed for the mesmeric subject is still more beyond the reach of our comprehension than those already enumerated. It is denominated Clairvoyant Prevision; in other words, it is a power of predicting future events. The existence of this is strongly asserted, but is not supported to any extent by so formidable an array of alleged facts as is brought in proof of the other phenomena. The facts themselves also appear to us capable of an easier solution, on the supposition of mistake, fraud, or collusion, than many of the others which are presented. Among the examples mentioned by Dr. Gregory is the prediction, by the subject, of the exact hour at which he shall awake, and the following curious narrative is given as occurring under his own observation. The patient is describing a sort of apparatus which enabled him to answer when questioned as to the duration of his sleep.

"He saw a kind of scale, or measuring-rod, which accompanied him, and seemed to pass before his eyes, moving from left to right, slowly, so that, while certain marks or divisions, at one time to the left of his eye, when they seemed to advance out of a dark cloud or mist, moved towards his eye, others came into view on that part of the rod formerly shrouded from his sight. On the right, the portion of rod (the ends of which he never saw) which had passed his eye, at a certain distance entered a similar cloud. He was very intelligent, and compared it to an endless revolving tape, of which only a small portion, and that straight, was at any one time visible to him, extending to a variable distance on each side of his eye, and constantly advancing. It had marks or divisions, representing minutes, and at every ten there was either a longer mark, or the mark was broader, so that he could instantly distinguish it; but he said this was not necessary. Indeed, I think he occasionally spoke as if the marks were all alike, and at all events he counted them by an instinctive and instantaneous process. He did not always notice this scale, that is, attend to it, while looking at other objects; but he had a sense

of its constant presence, even when not attending to it. When asked how long he had to sleep, he had only to look, and there it was. There were *no numbers* on the scale, but he could always see as far as was required (in his case never more than sixty minutes or degrees of the scale, to the left of his eyes). The degree right in front of his eye he knew to be that of the present minute, and a peculiar feeling which he spontaneously compared to the conscience of right and wrong, told him, on looking towards the cloud on the left, the degree which, at waking, would be found opposite his eye. He was also quite sensible that the degrees to the right represented past minutes, as those to the left represented future minutes. He could apparently recognize, after it had passed on towards the right, the degree which was present when he first fixed the time, and found it easiest to count how many degrees it had moved to the right, and deduct this number from that originally fixed, when he was again asked. But he could answer either way. The whole of this description was given as nearly as possible in the words and order here set down; and I asked no questions until he had finished his account of it, which he had spontaneously offered to give me." — pp. 134, 135.

This subject, according to Dr. Gregory, was highly educated, of great natural ability, and able to express his feelings and observations in good and precise language.

In other cases, the somnambulist predicts changes in the state of his own health; he predicts changes which are to take place in the degree of exaltation of his own magnetic powers; he predicts the course of a disease, and its termination, in those persons with whom he is made to sympathize; he may even predict accidents, or sudden attacks of illness, or death.

The highest and rarest of the conditions which the magnetic influence is said to have produced is that of Ecstasis or Trance. Cases of this description, occurring spontaneously, have been occasionally recorded, supported by testimony which it is difficult to invalidate, although the extraordinary nature of the alleged facts cannot but leave one in doubt as to their reality. Dr. Gregory distinguishes two states, which he thinks have been confounded together; one, in which we have the appearance of death, and which may be compared to the hybernation of animals; the other, in which the subject enters apparently into a higher state of existence, and is occupied in the contemplation of visions which alto-

gether transcend any thing experienced in the present. Dr. Gregory calls the former Trance, the latter Ecstasis. Instances of both of these have occurred under the influence of magnetism, and a volume has lately been published by M. Cahagnet, giving in detail the results of his observations in several such cases. It will probably, however, be quite sufficient for the curiosity of those who have not become familiar with these wonders, if we satisfy ourselves with the bare mention of these elevated phenomena, and confine our attention to those of more common occurrence. Indeed, the demand which these last make upon the faith will be quite enough for those who now for the first time have their attention directed to the subject.

There are some other phenomena, and some peculiar methods of producing them, which have not come up under the preceding account, that demand notice, not only as curious in themselves and important in their bearing on this subject, but as less questionable as to the evidence for their reality than some of the more remarkable of those which have been described. Every body has noticed that in our cities, season after season, lecturers have held forth on biology, electro-biology, &c., and, according to the testimony of those who have attended their courses, have exhibited many wonderful results. Here they have attracted little notice, except among those who are drawn to them for the gratification of mere curiosity. The phenomena presented have usually been set down as a mixture of a little truth with a good deal of imposture. Two of these exhibiters have made their way to Europe, and there, especially in Edinburgh, have succeeded in attracting the attention, not only of the curious, but of some of the scientific, to their exhibitions. The phenomena have this peculiarity, that they are produced in the waking and conscious state. We follow the account which our author gives of them.

The process of Dr. Darling is to cause a certain number of persons to gaze for ten or fifteen minutes steadily at a small coin or double convex mass of zinc with a small centre of copper, placed in the palm of the left hand. A certain proportion are found to become magnetized by this process, and after a few more preliminary

operations they become completely under the control of the operator. He renders a hand or an arm insensible to pain; makes the subject imagine a cold substance to be burning hot; to feel himself freezing with cold; to taste water as milk or brandy or acid. He controls the will of the patient; makes him perform any act, as to sing, to whistle, to fall asleep; or deprives him of the power of doing it. He controls his memory; he makes him forget his own name, and that of others, or the letters of the alphabet. He causes him to take any object to be what Dr. Darling says it is, — a watch to be a snuff-box, a chair a dog; or to see an object named where none such exists. He causes him to fancy himself another person, — Father Matthew, the Duke of Wellington, a drill sergeant, — and to act in character. He can govern his emotions, causing him to laugh, to cry, to be sad or happy, at pleasure. All these changes are produced and made to disappear at his mere will or word.

The same effects, precisely, are produced by another operator, Mr. Lewis, an African, in a different way, namely, merely by gazing with extreme earnestness and concentration for some minutes at the subject, while the latter either gazes at him or at an object in the same direction. Certain gestures or passes are added, and, if the individual be susceptible, his control over him becomes complete, and is evinced in the same way as above described.

A process called Hypnotism, discovered by Mr. Braid, is especially worthy of notice, because its effects are distinctly the same as those of Animal Magnetism, while they have occurred under circumstances which remove them from much of that suspicion of mistake or deception which has attached itself to so many of the exhibitions of the latter. Mr. Braid causes his subjects to gaze steadily at some small object, as the knob of a pencil-case, held a little above the eyes and a little in front of the upper part of the forehead. After gazing in this strained position a short but variable time, a large proportion of persons are not only affected, but put to sleep. This sleep is found to be magnetic, and has proved, according to the statements made, highly remedial in its influences upon the sick. So great is the power exercised in this way by Mr. Braid, that feeble women, who had been partially deprived of the use of their limbs,

have been made to walk while asleep, and by frequent repetitions of the process have been restored to activity. In other cases, slender, delicate men are made to exercise a muscular force superior to that of strong persons; to raise, for example, weights with a single finger, which, in their waking state, they could not raise even with both hands. This expedient may be resorted to for producing natural sleep in those who find it difficult from any cause to procure it.

"A sweet and refreshing slumber steals over the senses; indeed, the sensation of falling asleep under these circumstances, as I have often experienced, is quite delightful; and the sleep is calm and undisturbed, though often accompanied by dreams of an agreeable kind. Sir David Brewster, who, with more than youthful ardor, never fails to investigate any curious fact connected with the eye, has not only seen Mr. Braid operate, but has also himself often adopted this method of inducing sleep, and compares it to the feeling we have, when, after severe and long-continued bodily exertion, we sit or lie down, and fall asleep, being overcome, in a most agreeable manner, by the solicitations of Morpheus, to which, at such times, we have a positive pleasure in yielding, however inappropriate the scene of our slumbers." — pp. 161, 162.

We have thus gone over with the principal phenomena which are stated by the believers in Animal Magnetism actually to present themselves. They run out into many varieties, as they are observed in different subjects, under different circumstances, and produced by different operators. There are a vast number of subordinate facts claimed as true, which it would be interesting to point out; but our object is not to give a complete view of the whole subject, but merely such an one as shall afford the reader a lively idea of the extent of the demand which it now makes upon the public faith. With this purpose, we may with advantage add to the account already given a few narratives of some of the most striking cases reported by Dr. Gregory, which display better than we can describe the sort of evidence which is brought, and the difficulties which present themselves in explaining it away.

We quote the following because some of the phenomena described are not capable of being counterfeited, and because it occurred under the observation of medical men who were competent judges of their reality.

"Mr. Lewis then desired Mr. D. to gaze at him for a second or two, he gazing in return; when the eyes at once became fixed, the pupil dilated, and utterly insensible, so that no contraction ensued when a candle was passed close across the eye, or held close before it. The pulse being 76, Mr. Lewis pointed with one hand over the heart, while a medical man felt the pulse. It rapidly rose to 150, and became so feeble as hardly to be felt, while the patient became pale, and would certainly have fainted, had this experiment been continued a minute longer. Mr. Lewis then caused both the arms and legs of the patient successively to move, in spite of all the efforts of the patient, according as he, Mr. L., chose to direct them. They first moved to a certain extent, and then became rigid, and all this without contact. When his hand was laid on that of Mr. L., and he was defied to remove it, he found it quite impossible to do so.

"Mr. Lewis, having thus shown his control over the muscles, both voluntary and involuntary, next showed his power of controlling sensation. A penknife being placed in Mr. D.'s hand, he was told that it would soon become so hot that he could not hold it. Within about two minutes he began to shift it from one part of the hand to another, and soon threw it away as if it had been red-hot. The knife was again placed in his hand, and he was told that it would become so heavy as to force his hand down to the floor. He very soon began to make efforts to keep it up, but in about three or four minutes, in spite of the most violent resistance, which caused him to be bathed in perspiration, and to be out of breath, his hand was forced down to the floor." — pp. 259, 260.

The fact, more than once alluded to in the course of this article, of the existence of what is denominated a state of conscious clairvoyance, — that is to say, a state in which the subject in the waking or conscious state becomes capable of seeing distant objects, — is made use of to explain the well-known stories of visions seen in crystals, in the magic mirror, and in a drop of ink held in the hand, as is practised in the East by the Arabian sorcerers. As, in certain experiments above detailed, the magnetic condition is produced in impressible subjects by gazing steadily upon a coin or some other small object, so, by gazing steadily upon the crystal, the mirror, or the drop of ink, a magnetic condition of a higher grade is the result. The following are some of the examples of this: —

"A boy, quite ignorant of what was expected, after gazing at the crystal for about half an hour very steadily, saw a dark cloud

appear in it, which soon cleared up, and he then saw his mother in her room. By and by, his father appeared. I then asked him to look for a lady, whom he saw walking in the street in which she lived, and accurately described her walking-dress, which he had never seen, although he may have seen the lady for a moment in the evening. I then asked for a boy and a servant whom I was sure he had never seen. He saw and described most accurately the persons and dress of both. I asked for another servant, whom he saw opening the street door to admit the lady. I marked the time, and found that this lady had been walking in the dress described, and had entered her house at the time when the boy had seen her." — pp. 275, 276.

"Earl Stanhope informs me that he has made experiments with three crystals, in one or other of which visions have been seen by fifteen children of both sexes and of different ages, and by seven adult females, one of them upwards of sixty years of age. In regard to these visions, his Lordship observes, that, 'in many cases, it is very remarkable that they could not have been presented by memory to the imagination; as, for instance, visions of a dog wearing a crown; of a bed with a black counterpane; of a house with 126 windows and 33 doors, &c., &c.' All this corresponds with the strange visions of ordinary clairvoyance." — p. 277.

Of the extent to which the faith, perhaps we ought to say the credulity, of some has been carried on this subject, the following precious *morceau* is a specimen. It should, in justice to Dr. Gregory, be said, that its details are vouched for by the authority of the narrator alone, and not by the concurrent testimony of other witnesses, like most of his other cases. Still, that he receives and reports narratives of this description, without the slightest hint of distrust, is certainly not calculated to strengthen our reliance upon him as a cautious observer. It may also be worth noting, that the writer in question is the Mr. Atkinson who appears as the correspondent and Magnus Apollo of Miss Martineau, in the very shallow book which she has lately put forth.

"I was requested by a physician to try the effect of Mesmerism on a lady who was suffering fearfully from tic, a complaint to which she had been subject for many years. The trial was most successful, but before a cure could be effected, the lady was obliged to go to Paris with her husband. Now, as my peculiar influence had so good an effect upon her, it seemed most desirable to continue the process, if possible; and as I had already

tested the fact that mesmeric power could be conveyed by water, cotton, leather, and other substances, I suggested the plan of sending her mesmerized gloves by post to Paris. The experiment succeeded perfectly; the glove put on her hand always sent her into mesmeric sleep, and relieved her intense suffering, which all other means had wholly failed to do. The mesmerized glove by use gradually lost its property, and then failed to cause sleep, after a third time; so that I had to send newly mesmerized gloves every week, and the old ones were from time to time returned, to be charged afresh. This led to the observation of a very striking fact. I found that, before I could renew the healthy power, I had to remove the unhealthy influence or contagion which the glove had absorbed from the patient. I felt in my hand, on approaching the old gloves, the same unpleasant sensations as I have from touching a diseased individual, besides absolute pain from the tic. The sensations were as clear and unmistakable as those of heat from a flame, or of the roughness or smoothness of objects. The pain was the same in character as that of the patient. After I had mesmerized the glove for two or three minutes, the sensations ceased, and the glove was now cleansed from the influence it had absorbed and brought with it. The sensation now was the same as I have when I relieve pain by mesmerizing; when I can tell at once that the pain is relieved. I was in fact a complete mesmerometer, and had within myself the most convincing proof of the mesmeric fact, and of its relation to ordinary contagion. It might be supposed, that the influence of the gloves on the patient was due only to the imagination; but I tested this, by sending sometimes unmesmerized gloves, and at other times such as had been used by the patient, without doing any thing to them, and always found that the unmesmerized gloves had no effect, and the used gloves a most disagreeable one. I have made the experiment in a great many cases, and with the same results. The perception I had of pain and other states appeared at first very strange to me, as if it was a new sense; but I soon became familiar with it, so that it ceased to attract notice. My patients used to try to deceive me as to their pains, but could never succeed, and they used to remark that I knew their sensations better than they did. When mesmerizing nervous patients, I have felt a prickling sensation in my hand, but as soon as the sleep came on, I felt a slight shock, as it were; all disagreeable feelings ceased, and I experienced an agreeable influence in their place. On the occurrence of any decided change in the patients, as from trance to somnambulism, I felt the same slight shock. I have found that one's own peculiar mesmeric power may be in a measure conveyed to another, and also that the peculiar mesmeric state or sleep may be conveyed

from one patient to another. This accounts for the occasional contagion of fits, and for such phenomena as the contagious preaching mania in Sweden. I have experienced the same sympathetic influence as in the case of gloves, from letters, especially if the paper were glazed; and I could thus tell the state of the patient before reading the letter. Sometimes the heat and prickling have been so strong, that I have laid the letter on the table, to read without touching it. The influence from a feverish state would cause my hand to feel hot and feverish, even to others, the whole day. On one occasion, on reading a letter from a distance, I had the sensation of tears. It was so strong, that I felt sure the writer had been in tears while writing it, although nothing in the case, or in the letter, led to this conclusion. It proved, however, on inquiry, that the writer had been in tears, and that the tears had fallen on the paper. In one case, in which the patient, a lady, was too sensitive to be treated in the usual way, I gave her mesmerized water, which immediately caused her to sleep, and she was thus cured of sleeplessness. Once, when she sent for the water, I could not venture to mesmerize it, as I had just been mesmerizing a diseased subject, so I sent ordinary water, without any remark. In a few days I received a note to say, that the water had lost its power, and no longer caused sleep. On one occasion I breathed a dream into a glove, which I sent to a lady; the dream occurred. One of the ladies above mentioned, with her whole family, are sensitive to the approach of iron, which recalls the faculty possessed by some, of discovering veins of ore or springs of water under ground." — pp. 375–377.

There is one other circumstance connected with this subject which demands our attention, namely, the influence of Animal Magnetism as an agent in the practice of medicine and surgery. It is quite obvious that, if it be capable of producing even the least improbable of the effects ascribed to it, it is very likely to be available as a remedy in many diseases in which the seat of the malady is in the nervous system. In point of fact, there is really considerable proof that in this class of diseases it has been found quite valuable. We are not sure that, even in the case of Miss Martineau herself, much as the assertion of it by her has been ridiculed among medical men, her recovery from what was esteemed a hopeless condition may not be partly, at least, attributed to magnetism. But however this may be, there is ground from other cases for the hope that it may be available in relieving many of

the sufferings of disease, if not disease itself, such as pain, sleeplessness, and nervous irritability. But the most important application made of it has been to the purpose of rendering patients insensible to the pain of surgical operations. This had been accomplished several times in Europe before the discovery of the anæsthetic powers of ether and chloroform, and it would doubtless have continued to be the subject of further experiment, had not the facility and certainty with which the object was attained by these agents diverted the attention and prevented the further prosecution of inquiry in the other direction. In India, however, the investigation has been pursued, and with results which are truly astonishing. It is found that the natives of India are peculiarly impressible, and are very easily reduced to a state of insensibility by the magnetic influence. At a hospital in Calcutta, its surgeon, Dr. Esdaile, has for some years performed almost all important operations after reducing his patients to the magnetic condition. The results were published in a volume, a few years ago. Since then he has continued the same practice, and has from time to time communicated the results to the world. Of his results there seems to be no reasonable doubt. They are established on the best authority, — on quite as good authority as that which was deemed sufficient, in the case of the discovery of the powers of ether, to justify its employment in half the hospitals of Europe. The work of Dr. Esdaile contains also many statements relating to the efficacy of magnetism as a remedy in diseases; but all judgment relative to the relief of disease is subject to so many sources of error, that it would require a much longer and more varied observation to establish satisfactorily his opinion of its value. Incidentally, too, Dr. Esdaile states many facts which tend to a certain extent to confirm some of the extraordinary statements relative to the higher phenomena. He falls short, however, very far short, of Dr. Gregory, in the credence he gives to them, and there is altogether an air of modesty and truthfulness in his representations, which wins our confidence in the man, whatever we may think of his capacity as an observer. The main point, however, of his work, is the evidence which it gives of the production of insensibility to the pain of surgical operations. We have room to quote his

account of but a single example. He details a great number of others of the same kind, but most of them are only suited for professional readers, and it is to be borne in mind, in estimating the value of his testimony, that he has written, not as a partisan of Animal Magnetism, not for the purpose of making proselytes, but with the simple object of announcing a new means of diminishing the sufferings of mankind. It is to be recollected, also, that his experiments were not made, like many others, merely to satisfy curiosity, or with the mere abstract purpose of producing wonderful phenomena, but in a public hospital, mainly for a direct practical use.

The case we give is that of one of the most painful and formidable of surgical operations.

"June 3d. — Teencowrie Paulit, a peasant, aged 40. Two years ago, he began to suffer from a tumor in the antrum maxillare; the tumor has pushed up the orbit of the eye, filled up the nose, passed into the throat, and caused an enlargement of the glands of the neck.

"I was very desirous to reduce him to a state of insensibility before operating on him, and for the last fortnight my assistants have all perseveringly tried it, but without inducing sleep even. Indeed, from the tumor obstructing his throat, he has hardly slept for five months. Having ascertained that he was easier when sitting, I took him in hand myself, to-day, and entranced him in a chair by the following process. The room being darkened, I suspended my spread hands over his head for some time, and then carried them slowly down, one in front, the other behind; the former dwelling over the eyes, nose, mouth, and sides of the neck, and the latter being applied over the base of the brain: both were then carried down the centre of the body, claw-like, to the pit of the stomach, where they were spread and gently pressed, one opposite the other; and I kept breathing on the head and eyes all the time. In half an hour, the man was catalepsed, and in a quarter more, I performed one of the most severe and protracted operations in surgery; the man was totally unconscious.

"I put a long knife in at the corner of his mouth, and brought the point out over the cheek-bone, dividing the parts between; from this, I pushed it through the skin at the inner corner of the eye, and dissected the cheek back to the nose. The pressure of the tumor had caused the absorption of the anterior wall of the antrum, and on pressing my fingers between it and the bones, it burst, and a shocking gush of blood, and brain-like matter, fol-

lowed. The tumor extended as far as my fingers could reach under the orbit and cheek-bone, and passed into the gullet, — having destroyed the bones and partition of the nose. No one touched the man, and I turned his head into any position I desired, without resistance, and there it remained till I wished to move it again: when the blood accumulated, I bent his head forward, and it ran from his mouth as if from a leaden spout. The man never moved, nor showed any signs of life, except an occasional indistinct moan; but when I threw back his head, and passed my fingers into his throat, to detach the mass in that direction, the stream of blood was directed into his windpipe, and some instinctive effort became necessary for existence; he therefore coughed, and leaned forward to get rid of the blood; and I supposed that he then awoke. The operation was by this time finished, and he was laid on the floor to have his face sewed up, and while this was doing, he for the first time opened his eyes.

"June 4th. — This is even a more wonderful affair than I supposed yesterday. The man declares by the most emphatic pantomime, that he felt no pain while in the chair, and that when he awoke, I was engaged in sewing up his face, on the floor; so that the coughing and forward movement to get rid of the blood were involuntary, instinctive efforts, to prevent suffocation.

"June 6th. — The dressings were undone to-day, and the whole extent of the wounds in the face has united completely by the first intention. He is out of all danger, and can speak plainly: he declares most positively, that he knew nothing that had been done to him till he awoke on the floor, and found me sewing up his cheek; and I presume he knows best. Here is a translation of his own statement in Bengalee: —

"'For two years I labored under this disease, and scarcely slept for five months. On the 19th of May, I came to the Imambarah Hospital, and three or four persons tried to make me sleep, but all in vain. On the 3d of June, Dr. Esdaile, having kindly undertaken my cure, with a great deal of labor, made me sleep, and took something out of my left cheek, which at that time I did not perceive. After the operation, I did not sleep for two nights, but after the third day I have slept as usual. — TEENCOWRIE PAULIT, of Madra.'" — *Mesmerism in India*, pp. 146 – 149.

This, it is believed, is a fair account of the claims now made by the believers in Animal Magnetism, as stated by one of the most ardent and intelligent among them. Of the evidence for these claims it is more difficult to give a just idea; especially because, in most of the works of partisan writers, there is no just discrimination between the character and amount of testimony brought for the

different classes of facts. The above extracts, however, will enable one to form a pretty fair estimate of much of this testimony; and a very satisfactory one of the temper and spirit and sincerity of purpose with which our author, and many others, are actuated. And the first remark we feel disposed to make is, that, whatever be the real merits of the subject, it is clearly one not to be disposed of by being pronounced, in a loose, general way, a delusion or an imposture. It may be both, but it must be proved so before it will be thought so. From the character of the persons interested in it, from the earnest belief they entertain of its truth and importance, and from the plausible evidence they offer, it seems certain that it is not to be annihilated by the stale cry of "humbug," by whomsoever pronounced. We would say the same of any belief, similarly entertained and similarly supported, however absurd it might appear, and however at variance with preconceived opinions, if it profess to be founded on facts, and those facts be openly submitted to examination. It is presumption for us to assert beforehand what is and what is not true. Truth comes to us sometimes from the most unlikely quarters. We detect it lurking unexpectedly amidst a thousand forms of falsehood. It comes to us when we least expect it, and of a kind we least expect, when engaged in inquiries which have quite a different purpose, just as the first beginnings of chemistry grew out of the vain search for the philosopher's stone and the elixir of life.

There is no spirit more adverse to real advancement than that which rudely checks the inquiries that certain minds are instinctively impelled to make into new facts, especially when they have something strange or marvellous in them. To get at all truth, every avenue, however unpromising it may at first seem, must be explored. It may lead to nothing, but this we cannot know till we have tried. It is fortunate that there is a class of minds having this irresistible tendency. They are the pioneers who make the first clearings in the untrodden wilderness. They open new fields for the more careful cultivation of minds of another class, — a class who would have comparatively little scope for the employment of their sagacity, were it not for the adventurous enterprise of those who have preceded. A great many

systems in philosophy and science have, from time to time, obtained a currency in the world; have been extensively believed; have had their earnest enemies and equally earnest friends; have been attacked and defended with all the talent and energy of which controversy is capable; have been found wanting, and passed into oblivion. But who will undertake to say that this process has not advanced the human race in the attainment of truth? It is precisely by such a process that our progress has chiefly been made. Falsehoods, in some sense, are only the shadows cast by truths, and though many mistake the shadow for the substance, and never look beyond it, yet does it often serve as the guide to lead other minds to the reality.

These remarks apply to any subject, whatever it may be, which largely engages the attention of mankind. When any epidemic belief prevails, no matter what it be, instead of passing sentence upon it without inquiry, its investigation should be encouraged; it may be that this cannot be carried on without developing the excesses of enthusiasm and fanaticism; still let it proceed, and those quiet minds that are neither credulous on the one hand, nor resolutely incredulous on the other, should stand by and watch the commotion, lest haply something really valuable turn up and escape detection from the superficial observation of those most actively engaged, and who are too anxious to find the marvellous and miraculous to be fair judges of the true. In this way only can any popular delusion, even when it is wholly a delusion, be brought to an end; in this way only can the wheat be successfully sifted from the chaff, when, as is very apt to be the case, there are really some grains of it in the mass. And even did no other benefit arise from adopting this as a principle of action, it at least serves to illustrate some of the tendencies of the human mind, and to throw light upon the laws of human belief.

If this course had been adopted, the subject before us would not be in the unsettled condition in which we now find it. It would not present that heterogeneous mixture of real facts with unfounded marvels, that confusion between facts and imaginations, which now exists. Most even of those who have investigated it as a matter of serious and philosophical inquiry have not been of that

mental constitution and training which are necessary to qualify one for the task. For the most part, they have seemed to possess no proper conception of true scientific observation; none of the nature and amount of the evidence necessary to establish facts such as were alleged to exist; no notion of the difficulty of such investigations, and of the thousand sources of error and liabilities to deception. Hence their ideas have usually presented a strange jumble. We find them dwelling with the same confidence upon the well-proved phenomena and the wildest hypotheses, confounding together that which was well established and that which was little more than imagined, as if they were supported by the same kind and degree of proof.

The subject still remains, then, in a condition which renders it difficult to come to a fair final judgment with regard to it. Even Professor Gregory, with every disposition, as we entertain no doubt, to ascertain and report only the truth, does not always exercise the caution and discrimination in his conclusions demanded by so difficult a subject. He does not make a sufficient distinction between the different classes of phenomena, as to the character of the proof by which they are to be supported. He speaks with equal confidence of the higher and the lower. He appears to have no more doubt that a somnambulist can read through a stone wall, and describe events a hundred miles or a hundred years removed, than that he can be put to sleep by the magnetic process, and made insensible to pain in that sleep. Yet surely the former require a different kind and degree of evidence from the latter, and, further than this, the actual amount of evidence we have is different. For the former we have only the testimony of a small number of persons, and those the devoted partisans of the *science;* for the latter, the accumulated testimony of a vast many dispassionate observers.

Hence it is very difficult to draw the line accurately between those phenomena of Animal Magnetism which are to be considered as proved, and those which still remain in doubt. Yet, as a means of aiding the inquiry, we shall venture to point out which of them seem to be well established, which of them are possibly true, and which of them are probably or almost certainly false.

This is done with much diffidence, — with a due perception of the many sources of fallacy, and with an entire readiness to find ourselves mistaken, as either having admitted too much on the one hand, or too little on the other. It is proper to state, that the opinion expressed is not founded merely on the testimony of the works before us, but upon a general examination of the subject, as it has presented itself from time to time for many years.

It seems, then, to be established that the magnetic sleep is a real condition; that the subject of it bears a peculiar relation, during its continuance, to the operator; that a cataleptic state may be induced in connection with it; and that the sensibility is sometimes so modified or suspended as to allow of severe surgical operations being performed without pain. It seems also to be established, that in the waking state the condition of the mind and nervous system of some individuals may be so modified as to be controlled in various ways, apparently by the will of the magnetizer; that they may be made to exhibit spasm or paralysis of a limb, rendered incapable of voluntary motion, and made to forget or imagine various strange things with regard to themselves, at his mere suggestion. These facts appear to be all clearly established. They admit of various theoretic explanations; but the facts themselves do not now seem to be denied by even the decided enemies of the doctrine.

Beyond this we get upon debatable ground. It is not to be denied that there is a strong show of evidence for some of the higher phenomena, — evidence, all of which it is not easy to dispose of, — and yet not enough to produce conviction where the facts to be proved are of such a nature as the entire abolition of the will, sympathy, thought-reading, and clairvoyance. Statements have been often made in books, and given by honest observers, of extraordinary cases of this description, in so circumstantial a manner as almost to compel belief; but it has always happened within our observation, that, when these cases have been submitted to the examination of impartial observers, perfectly open to conviction, but still not partisans of the science, the wonders have vanished, and no phenomena have appeared beyond those which we have admitted to be sufficiently substantiated. It is certainly a most significant circumstance, that, although

hundreds of magnetized persons have been asserted to be able to read and perceive objects without the aid of the organs of sight, the large prize offered by the French Academy to any such clairvoyant has never been won. Similar offers abroad and here, to our knowledge, have been made, but there has been no instance of success. A distinguished Irish surgeon and an eminent Scotch professor are each said to have offered a hundred-pound bank-note to any one who would read the number of them through an opaque envelope. But this has not been done. Now, unless there has been some mistake or deception, some one among the numerous clairvoyants mentioned by Dr. Gregory ought to be able to accomplish this feat. This is all quite suspicious; yet we would not undertake to say that it is conclusive, or that it should preclude examination. We must recollect that, as an offset to this, an offer of double the amount has been made, in the most fair and open manner, to any one who shall prove that the phenomena of the modern spiritual manifestations are explicable without referring them to a supernatural origin; and that this offer has not been met. If the failure in the former case be taken as proving that the magnetic facts are false, it might be argued that the failure in the latter case should be admitted to show that the spiritual theory is true; a conclusion to which we suppose few would agree.

When we approach the still more extraordinary claims, of reading past events from rings, stones, and crystals; of reading the character and history of individuals from a letter, a glove, or a lock of hair; of seeing forward into the future, as well as back into the past; of breathing dreams into gloves, and sending in them healing influences over the seas; of taking away pains on the tips of one's fingers and thus carrying them from one person to another; of entering the spiritual world, and holding intercourse with the spirits of the departed,— the first impulse is simply to ridicule such pretensions, and to set them down as the imaginations of fools or the illusions of monomania. Still, this is not the most favorable state for determining the actual character of these pretensions. They are not the imaginations of fools, nor the illusions of monomania. They are the genuine belief of persons of the average amount of capacity and

common sense in the ordinary affairs of life; persons honest, and, morally speaking, trustworthy. We hold that no opinion, no matter what it is, which is sincerely entertained by any considerable number of such persons, is to be dismissed with a sneer, as simply ridiculous. If evidence be offered, it is to have a hearing. So strong is our conviction of man's profound ignorance of what is and what is not possible or probable in itself, that there is no opinion, on subjects of the class of which we are speaking, which we do not regard it as our duty to approach and examine, as if it might be true, however unlikely we may think it to be so. Nay, further than this, no man who approaches the examination in any other spirit than this, can be a fair judge of the evidence, either for or against its truth. We believe it may be stated as a general principle to be taken as a guide in all inquiries of importance, that we can only thoroughly and finally show a thing to be false, by dealing with it as if it might be true.

No man has a right to take his own convictions as the measure of what is probable and improbable, before he has examined a subject in this spirit, whatever that subject may be. So strangely diversified are our minds, independently of what we call talent, strength of mind, intellect, &c., &c., that there is no limit to fair differences of opinion upon all subjects, more especially upon such as that which has engaged our attention. Our estimate of what appears likely or unlikely, of the amount and kind of observation and investigation and evidence necessary to establish a truth, differs in the most inexplicable manner. We may draw striking illustrations of this from the varying faith which is reposed in systems of medical doctrine and practice of the most opposite nature, by individuals who in all the common concerns of life exhibit an average amount of observation and judgment, — who at least exhibit no unusual deficiency. One man believes that the study and experience of two thousand years have taught the descendants of Hippocrates nothing of the treatment of disease; but he goes to the seventh son of a seventh son with an implicit reliance on his inborn skill to cure him. Another will not trust to the judgment which is founded on a knowledge of the human frame and the use of every scientific method to

discover the nature of disease; but the magnetized female peers among his viscera in the dark, and he rests satisfied with her decision. We find that sensible men, with apparently the same opportunities for judgment, come to the most opposite conclusions. We find among them followers of Hippocrates, of Cullen, of Brown, of Brouissais, of Thompson, of Hahneman, of Priessnitz, or of Dickson. One believes that remedies will cure every thing, another that they will cure nothing. We know those over whom we claim no superiority of judgment, and who have had sufficient means of observation, who believe that a drop of laudanum mingled with as much water as fills one of our great inland seas is still capable of exercising an appreciable effect upon disease in the human system; yet to us the utmost marvels of Animal Magnetism, nay, even the alleged communications from the spiritual world, are less improbable, less inconsistent with what we receive as facts, and are supported by better evidence. Yet this form of opinion is not to be ridiculed; it is not to be rejected because it is improbable, but because it is not supported by evidence; and if evidence is fairly offered in support of it, that evidence is to be fairly examined.

We know that many persons of sagacity and judgment differ from us in these views. They hold that all subjects of this class, under whatever form they present themselves, are utterly beneath their notice, and it will appear to them that the importance we attach to them is altogether misplaced. But if the subjects are of no importance in themselves, and if no good results are to come from their examination, still the state of men's minds in regard to them is of importance. It is not a matter of indifference how men at large look upon them, how they cultivate them, how much they believe concerning them, and what their working influences are upon their minds. The attention mankind pay to the subjects which engage their interest is a part of the education of the race which is constantly going on. It is not a matter of indifference upon what subjects the mass of men are observing, thinking, and reading; and it cannot be a matter of indifference how they are guided in observing, thinking, and reading. It is useful that some superintendence should be exercised over their in-

quiries, so that, even if the subject be unworthy the exercise of the faculties, its investigation should be made to contribute as much as possible to their elevation. It is often given as a sufficient reason for passing by all matters of this kind, that they only engage the attention of the unenlightened, the credulous, the superstitious, or the knavish. Admit this. Is it best that they should remain unenlightened, and credulous, and superstitious, and knavish? And how can we so well put them in the way of being elevated from this condition, as by giving as much as is practicable a right direction to the curiosity by which they are actuated, and disseminating correct principles of examination and judgment? When any such matters become subjects of popular interest, it is of the utmost consequence that men should be so influenced in their inquiries that they shall not become the prey of delusion. In their way, a homely one it may be, they are seeking for truth and knowledge; or at any rate, they are seeking amusement from that which they believe to be truth and knowledge. It must have a more or less disastrous influence upon modes of thinking, and even upon character, if in this pursuit they are guided by false principles and led by them to false conclusions.

We are led to dwell so much on these points, not merely by the subject of this article, which, considered by itself, would be comparatively unimportant, but by the fact that there is now a very strong tendency in men's minds to become interested in subjects connected with their spiritual nature. There is in many a tendency to believe much; in many, a tendency to believe nothing; in almost all, a disposition to inquire, a strong anxiety to be satisfied. This tendency exists more widely among those who constitute the chief material of society — and a very valuable material of it —than is imagined by those who take to themselves the character of the liberal and enlightened class; and, numerically speaking, how small a proportion do the latter class constitute of the whole mass of mankind! Those who compose it are not deficient in a certain sympathy with and care for the former. They are concerned for their physical comfort, their worldly condition, their moral and religious progress; but they have no sympathy with, they, indeed, are too apt to treat with contempt all indications of, that instinc-

tive interest in the mysterious and unknown which is so strong an element in human character till it is extinguished by discipline and education. Yet it is this element, guided and cultivated, which lies at the foundation of all religious faith, and its exhibition, in whatever form it takes place, is never without its importance.

This tendency, we repeat it, is now manifesting itself in a very marked manner. The character of the developments by which it displays itself have nothing to do with this fact. That the interest is often fanatical, that it leads men to folly and extravagance, does not make the fact less certain or less important. None can be blind to it but those who hold themselves secluded from all knowledge of the actual workings of the human mind and heart. It is seen abroad and at home; in books and in its practical operation in society. It has called into existence such books as the History of the Seeress of Prevorst, the prolix Revelations of Andrew Jackson Davis, Mrs. Crewe's volumes on supernatural appearances, Cahagnet's Revelations of the Future, and many others of the same description, not to omit the last strange production of Miss Martineau. It is shown practically in the interest which has been and is taken in all the exhibitions of Animal Magnetism, and more especially in the widespread earnestness with which men have crowded to satisfy themselves concerning the recent assertions of direct communication with the spiritual world. The things themselves may all be delusion and imposture. The interest taken in them and the mode in which it has generally exhibited itself are not the less significant of a tendency — may we not say, of a want? — in the human mind. Is it not the result of an instinctive yearning, clamoring to be gratified? of a principle that, left to its spontaneous development among the uninstructed and the impulsive, may lead to folly, error, and excess, but capable of being directed to good, or at least prevented from leading to evil? The question is not, How can we prevent men from engaging in such inquiries? We cannot do this if we would. Ought we to do it if we could? Our true object should be to aid in carrying them on in a right way and for a right purpose; to direct people's minds to the true points at issue and to the best methods of deciding them; and to exercise a liberal forbearance

toward all the weakness, credulity, obstinacy, ignorance, and falsehood which may be encountered.

We are prepared to hear from many, that all interest in such matters is an encouragement to quackery, humbug, and imposture. In their view, to examine is to become responsible for them. They shrink from contact with the rude and vulgar curiosity which such inquiries often oblige one to encounter. They cannot endure the hopeless credulity that so often displays itself; the helpless ignorance of the value of evidence and of the modes of determining truth that is so generally exhibited. But all this is no reason why men should be suffered to grope their way in the dark, without assistance from those who can give it. Whatever movement extensively engages the interest of our fellow-creatures is worthy of sympathy and attention. The object of attention may be trivial or baseless, the stir and turmoil of mind produced cannot be without its influence upon the character of those engaged in it, either for good or for evil.

J. W.

Art. VII. — THE POET RÜCKERT.*

The name of Friedrich Rückert is tolerably well known to many of our readers. A translation of "The Dying Flower," so long ago as 1836, was his introduction, we believe, to American readers. That translation appeared in our pages, and was followed by several others from the same hand. The Rev. Mr. Brooks of Newport has been a great reaper in this teeming field; rendering many of the poet's smaller pieces into our language, with extraordinary fidelity, skill, and beauty. Rückert is a great favorite with his countrymen; and it is no wonder. He is the most diligent of all their living bards; too prolific, indeed, to be always strong. His fault is his exuberance. But he is a full poetic nature, and sings out his life. His words flow like music. He has

* *Gesammelte Gedichte.* Von Friedrich Rückert. Erlangen, 1836, and Frankfort, 1842.

an unbounded sweep of fancy and copiousness of speech, though they sometimes prove tempters to him. He is so affluent that he wastes. Evidently a true, discerning, brave spirit; writing as he feels, and feeling every thing; observant of no one's dictation. Whatever he sees inspires him; but the inspiration, instead of being immersed in the actual, flames through it. Like his countrymen as a race, he makes the ideal his chosen portion. He is the poet of love, but without the slightest stain of a vicious sensuality. He is the poet of liberty, of national liberty, and threw his whole soul into it in the terrible campaigns with Napoleon. But his heroic "Sonnets in Armor" were all purely a-blaze with poetic fire, — fierce like the blast of a trumpet, — but with no spot of the elaborate vulgarity that disgusts us in some of the patriotic effusions of that stormy time, — Follen's "Blücher's Ball" for example. He is delicate, though impassioned; a thoughtful spirit; an accomplished scholar; we warrant him, a noble man. Though born in the North, he has a strong Oriental cast of thought and expression. A large portion of his works found themselves upon the philosophy and traditions of the East. We own to his having written some things, in this line, that are rather tedious to us, — really pretty hard reading. But his choice bits we consider unsurpassed in the literature which they have enriched. We of course mean in their kind.

Of such a man there may be a natural curiosity to learn a little more. We propose at present to sketch a short notice of his life and writings; adding an attempt at translation of a few pieces illustrative of his peculiar style and genius.

Friedrich Rückert was born in May, 1789, at Schweinfurt, a small Bavarian town, about fifty miles east of Frankfort upon the Maine, and received his early education at the Gymnasium of that place. He afterwards entered the University of Jena, where he devoted himself chiefly to philology and polite letters. He became a teacher there in 1811; but soon after left Jena, lived privately at several places without fixing himself in any, and finally repaired to Stuttgart, where, in 1815 – 17, he took part in conducting a paper, the "Morning Sheet." In 1817 he journeyed across the Alps, and passed the

greater part of 1818 in Rome, where he occupied himself in studying the popular poetry of the Italians. Of course while there he wrote verses, as well as studied them, — verses in his own Northern tongue, — as the famous Goethe had done before him. Many of them are very pretty, and all of them perfectly chaste; which is more than can be said of the lines of his artistic predecessor, written from the same city. On his return to his own land, he took up his abode in Coburg, where he married, and entered with great zeal into the study of the Oriental languages. In 1826, he became professor of those languages at Erlangen, in which office he remained till 1841. In that year, by the invitation of the king of Prussia, he was translated to Berlin, where he was appointed, not only professor, but a privy councillor, — which title, by the way, is purely honorary. Here he continues, we believe, to reside. Some of his little poems, published in the "Pandora," seem to indicate that he is not particularly charmed with the Prussian capital; and he spends his summers at Neusess, in the neighborhood of Coburg.

Rückert opened his literary career with a volume of poems in 1814, under the assumed name of Freimund Raimar. He brought them forward with his own name in a collection, greatly enlarged, published at Erlangen, in 1834–38. From these "Gesammelte Gedichte," which is the storehouse of most, if not all, of the pieces hitherto translated into English, we will present but one specimen. It is an address of the sun to the seven planets, abounding with ingenious beauties. It is called "Mother Sun"; for, by a singular anomaly, the sun is feminine and the moon masculine in German. Dr. Latham, in his "Book of the English Language," thinks to elucidate this peculiarity by referring us to a passage of the Edda, where the Scandinavian mythology represents the sun as having been created woman and the moon man. But this seems more like adjourning the difficulty than solving it.

MOTHER SUN.

The Mother Sun is heard,—
A sunbeam every word,—
To her little children speaking:
"What would ye now be seeking?
Why in such haste away
From my warm breast to stray?
For scarcely can my glances
Reach you in your wide dances.

My youngster Mercury, fleet
With wings upon thy feet!
Of all my seven thou fliest
Still to thy Mother nighest.
Thy form thou dippest quite
Beneath my flood of light;
And they who move remotest
Scarce spy thee where thou floatest.
My Venus, maiden fair!
Of curly gold thy hair;
With rays the world adorning,
At evening and at morning.
O Jupiter and Mars,
Kingly and warrior stars!
What pomp ye bear before ye,
Equipped in burning glory!
Saturn and Uranus!
Ye cause a pain to us,
That, last in our bright order,
Ye choose the outmost border.
O Earth, my darling child!
From out thy bosom mild
Thou bringest the subjection
That best meets my affection.
Not too far,—not too nigh,—
The apple of my eye!
Of all my looks, the clearest
Rest on thy face, my dearest!
Forth from the beams I spread
Thou weav'st the morning's red;
How rich the purple binding
Around thy tresses winding!
Then from the cloud's thin lawn
Thy silver veil is drawn;
The rainbow, seven-fold splendid,
For thy robe's hem is bended.
Thy diligence I see;
How, as a gift for me,
Thou broiderest and paintest,
Cheering my eye when faintest.
My single golden ray
How hast thou found the way
So many hues to furnish,
Thy tapestries to burnish?
And all thy flowers, in pride,
Ruby and sapphire dyed,
Soon as my warmth I proffer,
Their kindled incense offer.
Thou mak'st the drops of dew
A rustic mirror true;
My image there appearing,
In tints of richest wearing.
With thousand eyes new-born,
Thou art awake at morn,
And from mine eyes derivest
The light by which thou livest.
Then postest thou at night
The moon upon his height;
He is thine own creation,
Thy choice his warder-station.
He watches in his place,
Still fixed on mine his face;
His flag for thee erected,
His beams from me reflected.
Another child is brought
Forth from thine earnest thought,
Which in thy bosom ponders,
And looks at me, and wonders.
When he has sought thee out,
With spirit keen and stout,
And me, too, studied throughly,—
Then all will finish duly.
Then wilt thou flash out free
Thine inward radiancy,—
The lightning-thought all burning,
Each gloomy barrier spurning.
So onward think and fare:—
And all you others there,
Swing round me in glad measures,
And please me with your pleasures.
You cannot from me part,
Whatever way you start;
My gold cord holds you, rangers,
And keeps you from all dangers.

And when ye have attained
Whereto ye were ordained,
Come to this breast of fire,
And buried there expire."

We are tempted to add one piece more from the same collection, because it is so short and so peculiar: —

THE EVENING SONG.

On a hill-side I stood,
As the sun was near its set;
And saw how o'er the wood
Hung Evening's golden net.
The cloud of heaven fell
In dew upon Earth's calm breast;
At sound of the vesper-bell
All nature sunk to rest.
I said: "Now share, O heart,
Creation's kind release;
Take, as its child, thy part,
And lull thyself to peace.
The flowers, with weary look,
Their eyes are shutting slow,
And every running brook
Is softened in its flow.
The o'er-tired moth, close by,
Under the leaf would creep;
In the sedge the dragon-fly
Drops all bedewed asleep.
The golden beetle makes
His cradle in the rose;
The shepherd's flock now seeks
The fold for its repose.
The skylark in the clover
Her damp nest stoops to find;
Beneath the forest cover
Lie down the hart and hind.
If but a hut 's his own,
Man rests him there from pain;
And though from it far, and lone,
In dreams he 's back again.
There seizes me a passion
Of longing and regret;
That I reach no such station,—
No home of the soul as yet."

In 1822 he published at Leipsic, "Eastern Roses. In three Collections." We cull what we consider to be the finest one in all the bunches. Under the title of The Old Man's Song, the piece was set to music by the celebrated composer, Schubert, and we have heard it sung to the following lines: —

My dwelling's roof with service is frosted o'er,
Yet warm are all the chambers, e'en as of yore.
My head the winter covers, all white and hoar;
Yet through the heart's free portals life's red tides pour.
The blooms of youth are vanished;
The cheeks' bright roses banished;
One by one they were seen no more.
Where have they thus been going?
To my heart's core.
There to my wish they 're blowing,
Just as before.

The streams of worldly pleasure, are they all dry?
Still one calm stream is laving that inner shore.
The nightingales of summer, did they all die?
Still one, amid the silence, my thoughts restore.
She sings: Lord! close the mansion, I now implore,
That the old world intrude not within the door.
Shut out the reeky breathing of things called real,
But give to dreams ideal
Both roof and floor.

The fruits of Professor Rückert's Oriental studies consist of translations from the Sanscrit and Arabic, and of original poetry, either founded on Eastern tradition or representative of the mystic dreaminess of Indian and Persian habits of thought. This last quality has been complained of, and we think with some reason, as having an undue influence over many of his compositions. To the first of these two classes belong, The Transformations of Abu Seid, translated — or rather imitated, so freely is the work done — from Hariri's Almakamah; Amrilkais, the Poet and King, also from the Arabic; Hamâsa, or the most ancient Popular Songs of Arabia, collected by Abu Temmam, translated and illustrated; and the Indian Tale, Nala and Damayanti, which is an episode from the Vanaparvam, the third part of the Mahábhárata. The last-named poem was translated and published several years ago by Dr. Milman; and we are compelled to say, that, if it does not sound better in the German verses than in those of the Dean of St. Paul's, it is not likely to attract many readers. To these we suppose we must add, — for China also is in the East, — Shi-King, a Chinese Song-Book, collected by Confucius, dedicated to the Germans. The title sounds very strange to us on several accounts. If the "worshipped Kon-Fu-Tsee" had a turn for music, it raises him considerably in our estimation. And yet, if these songs bear the least analogy to any of the musical strains which as yet have reached us from the flowery kingdom, this estimate would be very sensibly diminished. In the second class we have to place, Oriental Sayings and Stories; Rosten and Suhrab, an Heroic Poem in Twelve Books; "Erbauliches und Beschauliches aus dem Morgenland," which we are unable to translate into our own tongue with their original jingle, of which our poet is perhaps

over-fond; Braminical Narratives; and finally the large book, The Wisdom of the Bramin, a Didactic Poem in Fragments. This work was first printed in six volumes, 1836–39; but was contracted into one, of 700 pages, in 1843. Half of this we have read at long intervals, and would not be deprived of the opportunity of reading the whole of it in the course of time. Yet do but think of a book of this length, broken up into couplets of the same unvaried measure, that stretch on one after the other, without the least arrangement or title of division. Apothegms do not grow well in such huge clusters. One who thus pours out whatever comes into his mind is likely to say a great deal that is not worth the hearing. The monotony of such studies is more likely to tempt a person of a peculiar temperament to compose the fragments, than to induce the public at large to take them apart and peruse them.

As for the wisdom or the beauty which have come to us from any point eastward of Judea, we think that they have both been much overrated. Men are prone to attach great value to writings that have exercised the researches of renowned scholars, and some of which lay claim to an extreme and imaginary antiquity. For our own part, it has not been our fortune to see many flowers of Persian or Arabian growth that would well bear transplanting. The religious books of the Orient are a wearisome inanity, where they are not worse and monstrous; and we doubt if the vast epics of Hindostan will appear very much otherwise to a sober Western discernment. We well remember what a difficult piece of amusement was the reading of Sir William Jones's version of "Sacontalà, or the Fatal Ring," though the very title was magic to our youthful ears; and we have been willing ever since to skip most even of the "elegant extracts" that we have met with from any of the dramatists or bards who have lived between the banks of the Euphrates and the easternmost part of the wall of China. We make an exception, of course, in behalf of tales and fables; for we are mindful of the names of Bidpai and Lokman, and of the anonymous wonder, The Arabian Nights. The Mahábhárata, by the way, the *great* Hindoo poem, contains 100,000 distichs. Who but must admire?

Rückert threw out in rapid succession, in 1844 and 1845, several dramas, or rather dramatic poems, for they are incapable of theatrical representation. These did not find any great favor. They are Herod the Great, in two parts; The Emperor Henry the Fourth, also in two parts; Christopher Columbus, in three parts; and Saul and David. Dialogue and the preparation for scenic effects, we believe it is conceded, are not within his best range; however they may abound with good poetic points. We confess that we have read as yet only the last one of the above-mentioned series. It labors under defects that must attach to all undertakings of a similar kind. They scarcely should be undertaken at all. You cannot help out by any art the great stories of either Testament. They are best in their prosaic and more than poetic simplicity. The finer they are, the less do they bear to have any freedoms taken with them. The grandest of all the tales ever told, — that of the "Monarch Minstrel," — greatest both as prince and bard; — the ruddy shepherd lad, the outlaw captain, the psalmist for the world; who bearded the lion, and rent the bear, and smote the giant, and danced before the ark of God, and then in the night of his decrepitude (O poor mortal life!) could get no heat; — the noble lip, that refused to slake its most burning thirst with the water that was brought at the peril of the lives of his companions; the royal heart, that made its contrition deeper than its sin had been, and poured it out as a libation of tears for our whole struggling humanity; — such a story, we say, cannot be told in two ways, or in any words but its own. Fanciful decorations would only demean it. We exculpate our poet, however, from every meretricious fault of this kind. He is severely simple, and never departs from the propriety of his theme. Not only was his taste too strict to do otherwise, but the nature of a dramatic composition was in some degree a protection against it. Rückert ventured further than this when he wrote a poem called "The Life of Jesus"; a history of the Saviour in rhyme. It was received with disapprobation, as might have been expected. But the complaint made against it was that it was vapid, and not that it ran into any vicious excess. We might be sure that so earnest a man would avoid the offensive mistake, so common among us,

of dressing up the scenes of the sacred history with sentimentalisms out of place, and tawdry accompaniments.

The last work of our poet that we have seen is a new edition of his selected verses, published in 1847. From that we will offer two pieces as sufficiently characteristic, and which we had not before seen. The first is

BETHLEHEM AND GOLGOTHA.

In Bethlehem he first arose,
From whom we draw our true life's breath;
And Golgotha at last he chose,
Where his cross broke the power of Death.
I wandered from the Western strand,
Through strange scenes of the Morning-Land;
But naught so great did I survey
As Bethlehem and Golgotha.

The ancient wonders of the world
Here rose aloft, — the mighty Seven; —
How was their transient glory hurled
To earth before the Might of Heaven!
In passing, I could see and tell
How all their pride to ruin fell;
There stood, in quiet Gloria,
But Bethlehem and Golgotha.

Cease, Pyramids of Egypt, cease!
The toil that built you never gave
The faintest thought of Death's great peace, —
'T was but the darkness of a grave.
Ye Sphinxes, in colossal stone!
The riddle Life an unread one
Ye left; — the answer found its way
Through Bethlehem and Golgotha.

O Rocknabàd, earth-paradise,
Of all Shiràz the sweetest flower!
Ye Indian sea-coasts, breathing spice,
Where groves of palms in beauty tower; —
I see o'er all your sunny plains
The step of Death leave sable stains.
Look up! There comes a deathless ray
From Bethlehem and Golgotha.

Thou Cāaba! black stone of the waste,
At which the feet of half our race
Yet stumble. Stand, now, proudly braced
Beneath thy crescent's waning shine!
The moon before the sun grows dim.
Thou art shattered by the sign of Him,

The conquering Prince: "Victoria!"
Shout Bethlehem and Golgotha.
O Thou, who in a shepherd-stable
An infant willingly hast lain,
And through the cross's pain wert able
To give the victory over pain!
To pride the manger seems disgrace,
The cross a vile, unworthy place;—
But what shall bring this pride down? Say!
'T is Bethlehem and Golgotha.
The Magi Kings went forth to see
The Shepherd Stock, the Paschal Lamb;
And to the cross on Calvary
The pilgrimage of nations came.
Amidst the battle's stormy toss,
All flew to splinters — but the Cross;
As East and West encamping lay
Round Bethlehem and Golgotha.
O, march we not in martial band,
But with the Spirit's flag unfurled!
Let us subdue the Holy Land
As Christ himself subdued the world.
Let beams of light on every side
Fly, like Apostles, far and wide,
Till all men catch the beams that play
O'er Bethlehem and Golgotha.
With pilgrim staff and scallop-shell
Through Eastern climes I sought to roam; —
This counsel have I found to tell,
Brought from my travels to my home:
With staff and scallop do not crave
To see Christ's cradle and his grave.
Turn inward: there in clearest day
View Bethlehem and Golgotha.
O heart! what helps it, that the knee
Upon his natal spot is bended?
What helps it, reverently to see
The grave from which he soon ascended?
Let him within thee find his birth;
And do thou die to things of earth,
And live Him; — let this be for aye
Thy Bethlehem and Golgotha.

The last extract that we shall make will illustrate further, not only one of our poet's favorite forms of thought, but his fondness for the same rhyme frequently repeated. In one of his "Gazelles," translated in Mr. Brooks's "Ger-

man Lyric Poets," the leading rhyme recurs more than twelve times. In The Old Man's Song, cited above, as well as in the piece immediately preceding, the recurrence is almost as frequent.

MIDNIGHT.

At still midnight
I raise my sight
To gaze upon the sky.
No star of all on high
Is shining bright,
At still midnight.
At still midnight
My thoughts invite
A look into the dark.
I see no cheerful spark
Of mental light
At still midnight.
At still midnight
I do not slight
The measured beats of my heart;
One single pulse of smart
Throbs full and tight
At still midnight.
At still midnight
I fight the fight
Of all thy woes, O man!
But settle it ne'er can,
With all my might,
At still midnight.
At still midnight
I yield up quite
To Thee the whole control,
O ruling hand and soul!
Thou watchest right
At still midnight.

N. L. F.

NOTE TO ART. IV. IN THE SEPTEMBER NUMBER.

The author of the "Outlines of a System of Mechanical Philosophy," beliving that the review of his book in the last number of the Christian Examiner may create in some minds an impression against his theories, apart from their truth or falsity, asks the insertion of the following note.

New theories have always been opposed by those who have devoted their lives to the teaching of the standard hypotheses. The proposed change, *because it is a change*, without reference to its character, has always been denounced. There is not one instance of progress in science which has not been stoutly resisted. The cultivators of science, indeed, permit additions and minor changes, but never encourage any speculations which endanger the foundation of their scientific faith. And it is curious to observe, that the attack upon new theories is ever of the same tone and character. They who question established opinions are denounced as "lacking modesty, courtesy, and good temper," and "as incompetent in learning and talents" to write on such subjects.

Of course, then, the theories of the "Outlines," true or false, would receive this treatment. The author had no reason to suppose that a teacher of the established scientific theories would at once become a convert to his speculations. He had no reason to expect that he would be considered by the reviewer as competent in learning and talents to question the received theories. A knowledge of human nature shows that the very fact of his placing his mind in antagonism to the reviewer's would give to the reviewer the impression that he was arrogant, and lacked modesty and courtesy. Calling to mind these principles, the intelligent reader will pass by the general declamation of the article against scientific sceptics, its sneers and sarcasms, as what was to be expected, and as not in the least affecting the questions at issue.

The intelligent reader will also call to mind, that the reviewer is a man of great scientific attainments, that he has devoted his life to this branch of learning, and that his system, like those which preceded it, is fortified by general belief that his theories have been supported by the talents of many truly great men, — and that, on the other hand, the new theories have been wrought upon by one mind only, and that they are presented merely in a rough outline. The author might be right in his philosophy, and yet appear altogether unsound when the whole strength of scientific talent and scientific learning is brought to bear upon his statements. But he does not complain of the strength of the arguments used against him.

There is, however, one serious misstatement of a position taken in the "Outlines," to which he wishes particularly to call attention in this note, — a misstatement arising probably from a misconception of the author's ideas, from a hasty reading of the passage in question. The reviewer asserts that the statement in regard to the decrease of areas on page twenty-one of the "Outlines" is "geometrically false." Undoubtedly it so appeared to him. But the idea intended to be conveyed by the words used, and which actually was conveyed to other minds, is geometrically true, not in the opinion of the author alone, but as decided by competent mathematical authority.

We ought not to intrude any further on the courtesy of the editors. We ask that general declamation against scientific sceptics, general charges of arrogance and discourtesy, sneers, and sarcasm, applied to a class or an individual, which make up a large proportion of the pages of the article, may not prejudice the reader against our theories. What there is of argument in favor of the established theories and against our speculations, we honestly believe we shall be able to meet.

S. E. C.

NOTICES OF RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

Historical Commentaries on the State of Christianity during the first Three Hundred and Twenty-five Years from the Christian Era: being a Translation of "The Commentaries on the Affairs of the Christians before the Time of Constantine the Great," by JOHN LAURENCE VON MOSHEIM, D. D., late Chancellor of the University of Göttingen. In two volumes. Vol. I. translated from the original Latin by ROBERT STUDLEY VIDAL, Esq., F. S. A. Vol. II. translated, and both volumes edited, by JAMES MURDOCK, D. D. New York. 1851. 2 vols. 8vo.

THE original work here translated — *De Rebus Christianorum ante Constantinum Commentarii* — was published at Helmstadt in 1753, and, so far as we know, it has never been reprinted. Its merit has been generally acknowledged. It is one of the most valuable productions of the learned and candid Dr. Mosheim.

In 1813, Mr. Vidal published a translation of a portion of the book (London, 2 vols. 8vo), and in 1837 that of another part (London, 1 vol. 8vo). Mr. Vidal's version is in general accurate, but hasty. Dr. Murdock reprints the first two volumes of his predecessor's work, only correcting his typographical errors and altering the form of the notes; and then himself translates the remainder of the original work of Mosheim.

What is the value of the original work here offered to the public a hundred years after its first publication? In 1753 it represented the most advanced point of historical investigation on this subject; but since that time much has been written, in general, on this important period of history, and some obscure matters have been cleared up; some new documents have been brought to light, and a good many special treatises have been written on the different subjects which Dr. Mosheim has discussed. Still these Commentaries retain their value, for there is no one book adequate to take their place. Yet, of course, the book by no means bears the same relation to historical science now that it did a hundred years ago. Some of Mosheim's opinions may now be considered obsolete; many of the authors he refers to are forgotten, and new celebrities of a day have taken their place, soon also to pass away. The fact that the work has not been reprinted at home for a century, shows that it is not there thought to be quite up to the wants of the times. Yet the American scholar, to whom the works of Mosheim's successors are all unknown, may well rejoice that this book is now made accessible to him.

How has the translation been executed? Dr. Murdock is so well known for his varied, accurate, and profound learning in ecclesiastical history, for his modesty, diligence, and fairness, and for the literary conscientiousness, so rare amongst American scholars, with which he prepares every thing that he sends to the press, that it is hardly necessary to say the work is done faithfully and well. The style of the original is a little stiff, — for Mosheim wrote it in academic Latin, not in his mother-tongue; and though Dr. Murdock has rendered the text as freely as he could, we still feel that we are reading a translation, and that of an original which is not quite natural and easy. Here and there we have compared the version with the text, finding it faithful and clear, literal enough for accuracy, and free enough for comfort to the reader. Now and then a trifling mistake occurs: the eyes wandered, or the writer nodded, perhaps. Thus, for example (Vol. II. p. 91), Dr. Murdock speaks of "Laurence, the Roman deacon, famous among the martyrs, *who is said to have been* roasted to death by a slow fire." Dr. Mosheim says, "Laurentius, celebris ille inter martyres diaconus Romanus lento igne urtus." *Ferunt* occurs in the previous line, and is limited to Sixtus, of whom it is correctly translated that "*he is said* to have been crucified." But this is the only considerable error that we have noticed in the passages we have compared with the original.

We only regret that the laborious and learned translator has not enriched his work with such notes as he added to his edition of the Ecclesiastical History; then it would be as complete a manual for the middle of the nineteenth century, as it once was for the eighteenth.

Glossarium Mediæ et Infimæ Latinitatis conditum a Carolo Dufresne Domino Du Cange, *auctum a Monachis Ordinis S. Benedicti, cum Supplementis integris* D. P. Carpenterii *et Additamentis Adelungii et Aliorum digessit* G. A. L. Henschel. Parisiis: Excudebant Fermin Didot Fratres, etc. 1840–1850. 7 vols. 4to.

The Messrs. Didot seem to be the most enterprising printers in the world. They publish the Greek classics in a convenient and cheap form; they publish the new and splendid Greek Thesaurus, with the valuable additions of modern scholarship, not to mention their great services in reprinting other works, and bringing new ones before the public.

Du Cange's Glossary has long been difficult to obtain, and a desideratum with all students of the Middle Ages. The lawyer, the theologian, and the historian equally require it. No one of

the previous editions is complete. The publishers wished to present a new edition, complete and perfect as possible, and with such additions as the science of the times seemed to demand. They engaged the services of Mr. Henschel as the editor of the work. He is a German by birth, but long a resident at Paris, and has a profound acquaintance with the archæology of the modern languages of Europe, especially the Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, French, German, Dutch, and English. He is modest, learned, and accurate, a competent man to edit this work, which has done honor to the learning of the French nation. It is a little remarkable, that we are indebted to France for our most valuable lexicons of the Greek and Latin languages. Robert Stephens published his *Thesaurus Linguæ Latinæ* in 1531 – 2; Henry Stephens his *Thesaurus Græcæ Linguæ* in 1572, now in process of republication; Du Cange his *Glossarium Latinitatis* in 1678, and his *Glossarium Mediæ et Infimæ Græcitatis* in 1688. St. Palaye's *Glossaire de l'Ancienne Langue Française* still sleeps in manuscript, one-and-sixty volumes thick. The French Academy is yet in labor with its new monstrous *Dictionnaire Historique.*

We have not space to examine this edition of Du Cange so minutely as we would gladly do, but will content ourselves with naming its contents, and making one or two remarks upon the work.

I. Vols. I. – VI. contain the Glossary, with the additions of the former editors, and the additions and corrections of Mr. Henschel, which are numerous and valuable. The contributions of these various authors are carefully marked, so that the reader sees at once what is from Du Cange, what from Carpenter, and what from Henschel.

II. Vol. VII. contains the following matters: —

The Publishers' Preface; a critical notice of the various earlier editions of the Glossary, by M. Pardessus; the Eloge on M. Du Cange; a list of his works; and an account of the inauguration of his statue at Amiens, his native place, in 1849, two hundred and forty years after his birth.

Then follows the *Glossaire Français.* This is abundantly enriched by the labors of Mr. Henschel. Every column shows marks of his successful diligence.

Next come the *Extraits des Observations sur l'Histoire de Saint Louis, escrite par Jean Sire de Joinville,* — explanations of technical terms, and other difficult words in this work, by Du Cange himself.

Then follow Indices to the great Glossary itself, of the authors, of the anonymous works, of the manuscripts referred to, and of all the various classes of legal and ecclesiastical documents;

an Index of the authors or works corrected by Du Cange. Then come forty Indices of the various matters treated of in the Glossary. Art, Science, Literature, Magic, Metals, Medicine, and Money, all have their places. There is then a Supplement, with a separate paging, which contains Du Cange's *Dissertationes sur l'Histoire de Saint Louis*, thirty in number; the *Dissertatio de Imperatorum Constantinopolitanorum Numismatibus*, illustrated with numerous engravings; Scaliger's *Expositio Constantini Numismatis Argentei*; and Freher's *Sapphirus Constantii Exposita*.

Mr. Henschel has made many and important additions to the *Glossaire Français*. We are not competent to say how complete it is in its present condition. The Latin Glossary is as complete as we can reasonably expect such a work to be. Yet a little reading in mediæval law-books of England, for example, brings one acquainted with words which you vainly seek for in Du Cange.

In the *Acta Sanctorum* we occasionally find a word which the Dictionary still lacks.

The present edition is a great improvement over all its predecessors, and, we trust, will be thankfully received by the learned of the New World as well as the Old.

Glossaire Nautique, Repertoire Polyglotte de Termes de Marine Anciens et Modernes, par A. Jal, Auteur de l'Archéologie Navale, et du Virgilius Nauticus. Paris: Firmin Didot Frères, 1848. 1 vol. 4to. pp. 1592.

The title-page of the above work bears date 1848; the printing, indeed, commenced that year, but was not finished until the 25th of May, 1850. The book has been before the public but a short time; only a few copies have as yet reached America. It is a work of great labor, and great value. The author aims to give an account and definition of all the nautical terms in the following languages: — The French, Greek (ancient and modern), Latin, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, Catalonian, Basque; the Icelandic, Greenlandic, Anglo-Saxon, English, German, Danish, Swedish, and Dutch; the Turkish, Russian, Dalmatian, Illyrian, and Wallachian; the Maltese, Arabian, and Hindo; the languages of Polynesia, the Lascar, and the Chinese. Not content with this, he aims to give all the nautical terms in the local dialects, such as the Genoese, the Venetian, Neapolitan, and the Corsican, the dialect of Bas-Bretagne, of Languedoc, Provence, and Gascony.

It was in 1831 that he conceived the scheme of this Glossary,

but he first produced a work on Naval Archæology (*Archéologie Navale, publiée par Ordre du Roi.* Paris, 1840, 2 vols., 8vo), and then began the present work. It was thought at first that six years would be sufficient for the undertaking, but it has consumed ten. No reader will be surprised, except at the shortness of the time. The author read immensely in printed books relating to maritime affairs in all languages, voyages, maritime laws, Coutumes, &c.; then he explored the manuscript treasures of Paris, Normandy, Brittany, Marseilles, Geneva, Milan, Genoa, Florence, Rome, Ancona, and Naples. He went to Italy twice to gain information, twice to Malta, once to Greece, Constantinople, and the Danube. He visited Dalmatian and Russian ships, as well as Turkish and Greek, to learn the names of nautical affairs. He was industrious as a Jesuit and enthusiastic as a fanatical missionary of the Mormons; then he studied documents from the Middle Ages, for he will not be satisfied unless he has all the words that ever were in the languages above named. He complains touchingly that he had not four or five years more to study the languages of the North of Europe to make his book still more complete; but for that he must travel to Holland, England, Denmark, Sweden, and even Russia. He was too poor for that! He lays all previous glossators under contribution, and models his work on Du Cange and Noah Webster, — both of whom he duly praises.

A History of the Town of Union, in the County of Lincoln, Maine, to the Middle of the Nineteenth Century; with a Family Register of the Settlers before the Year 1800, *and of their Descendants.* By John Langdon Sibley, Member of the Massachusetts Historical Society. "E minimis maxima." Boston: Benjamin B. Mussey & Co. 1851. 12mo. pp. xii. and 540.

The motto which the author has appropriately placed on the title-page of his work is strikingly illustrated in the mere publication of such a volume on such a subject, though it was evidently intended to point in quite a different direction. A country town, whose population has not yet reached 2,000, and which dates back but three quarters of a century for its first settlement, would seem to furnish but few materials for the historian; and a pamphlet of fifty or sixty pages would, ordinarily, be sufficient to contain all that could be said about it, by almost any writer. But Mr. Sibley has not been content to write a common or superficial history of his native town. Every thing relating to the place and its inhabitants seemed to him worthy of

thorough investigation and faithful record. He appears to have entered upon his willing task with enthusiasm, and he has accomplished it with great success. The very many persons who have had occasion to consult the author on historical subjects, whilst performing his official duties in the Library of Harvard College, and the still larger number who have noticed the scrupulous fidelity and unsparing efforts which he has repeatedly bestowed on the dry but highly important Triennial Catalogue, will feel assured of the thoroughness of his researches and of the general accuracy of his statements. The inhabitants of Union may with truth assert, that they now possess a more full and complete history from the beginning, than has ever before been written of any other town. The minuteness of the details is wonderful. As an instance of this we may mention that, in the chapter on population, we have the name and age, on the first day of June, 1850, of every man, woman, and child in the town, with figures to indicate the neighborhood and locality of the different families. In the same chapter the respective birthplaces of those inhabitants who were not born in the State of Maine are stated; the number of farmers and mechanics is given; and also of the blind, the insane, the idiots, and the paupers. Almost every thing pertaining to the affairs of the town is related with equal minuteness. Of course, there are many things in the volume, which, although highly important and interesting to the inhabitants of Union, have only a local value. But, besides these, there is a considerable portion relating to the ecclesiastical and educational affairs, the manners and customs of the people, and the difficulties and struggles of the early settlers, which is of general interest. It is from such particular and elaborate, though unpretending, accounts as Mr. Sibley has given of the country church, the village school, the town-meeting, the military muster, etc., that the student of history is to catch the true spirit of former times. Had we space, we should gladly enlarge on several subjects suggested by the perusal of this volume, and have furnished extracts which would do the author more justice than our brief remarks.

Literary Reminiscences; from the Autobiography of an English Opium-Eater. By Thomas De Quincey. In two volumes. Boston: Ticknor, Reed, & Fields. 1851. 16mo. pp. 366, 337.

These volumes are partly autobiographical and partly critical. They present some incidental notices of Mr. De Quincey's personal history; but they mainly have reference to the distin-

guished literary men with whom he was brought in contact during his long residence at Grasmere. Among these, Wordsworth, Coleridge, and Southey hold the most prominent position, and much the largest space is devoted to them. There are also two pleasant chapters relating to Charles Lamb, and reminiscences of Sir Humphrey Davy, Mr. Roscoe, William Godwin, Charles Loyd, Walking Stewart, as he was called, Mrs. Grant of Laggan, Miss Elizabeth Smith, and others of lesser note, interspersed with anecdotes illustrating the habits and feelings of the inhabitants of the mountainous districts in the North of England. Perhaps the most interesting portions of the work are those treating of Wordsworth, Coleridge, and Lamb. The earlier chapters are, however, all written in a more genial vein than the latter portions. Indeed, a very great inequality is discoverable in the work; and there are some needless repetitions. These defects are doubtless attributable to the fact, that its contents were originally written at different periods, and also, we believe, for different periodicals.

Some of the more unamiable traits of Mr. De Quincey's character are likewise brought into notice in the volumes before us. From the peculiar constitution of his mind, and perhaps, also, from the habits of his early life and his success in overcoming those habits, he is apt to be narrow and positive. In truth, his intense self-consciousness, if it were not grounded upon such vast stores of learning, would be simply ridiculous, as in any view it is sufficiently painful. It is exceedingly difficult for him to conceive the possibility of his committing a mistake, or that any one can understand a subject as well as himself. Of John Locke, for instance, he speaks in the most supercilious manner, and perversely undervalues the philosophy of that great and powerful thinker. This, however, may arise in some degree from his dislike of Locke's politics. Mr. De Quincey is himself a Tory of no very mild stamp; and whenever he has occasion to speak of the Whigs his partisanship becomes clearly apparent. To the same general reason we are disposed to attribute a part of the vehemence which marks his attacks on Addison in the otherwise splendid papers upon Shakspeare and Pope, originally printed in the Encyclopædia Britannica. In speaking of Wordsworth, the tendency of Mr. De Quincey's remarks is to exalt his poetry at the expense of his personal character, which is represented as hard, arrogant, ungenerous, and one-sided. His poetry, on the other hand, is extolled in the highest terms of praise and admiration. For our own part, we are not among those who are prepared to admit the validity of Wordsworth's claims to the position as a poet to which his friends think him entitled, while his personal character hardly appears to us so unamiable as it is rep-

resented by Mr. De Quincey. It is clear from what our author himself says, that, in drawing Wordsworth's character, he was smarting under the recollection of what he regarded as personal insults. So, too, in speaking of Coleridge's wife, the remembrance of old grievances comes up to give point to his sarcasms. But in writing of Charles Lamb, nearly all that is written indicates kindness and good feeling; and those delightful chapters, with the introductory chapter on his Literary Novitiate, and the curious chapter in literary history on Walladmor, would be sufficient in themselves to create a large popularity for the volumes. Nor should we be surprised if they were the most popular of Mr. De Quincey's works which have hitherto been reprinted.

If we were writing a review of these volumes we should feel constrained to animadvert at some length upon our author's defence of duelling in the last chapter; but in a brief notice we can only express our entire dissent from his views. A single extract will show what those views are; and it is not easy to see how a more complete *reductio ad absurdum* of his argument could be made than is offered in his own language. Speaking of duelling he says: "The actual basis upon which reposes the security of us all, the peace of our wives and our daughters, and our own immunity from the vilest degradations under their eyes, is the necessity, known to every gentleman, of answering for his outrages in a way which strips him of all unfair advantages, except one (which is not often possessed), which places the weak upon a level with the strong, and the quiet citizen upon a level with the military adventurer, or the ruffian of the gambling-house." In other words, our personal security, and "the peace of our wives and our daughters," depend on the practice of duelling. That a man of Mr. De Quincey's extraordinary intellectual powers should entertain such a notion indicates a strange idiosyncrasy.

With these remarks we take leave of Mr. De Quincey's works for the present, hoping that Mr. Fields, who has edited the series thus far in a manner deserving the highest commendation, will continue to give us still more of these eloquent and striking productions.

A Book of Romances, Lyrics, and Songs. By BAYARD TAYLOR. Boston: Ticknor, Reed, & Fields. 1852. 16mo. pp. 155.

MR. TAYLOR, though still a young man, has obtained a considerable degree of popularity. He first became known by the publication of a very entertaining book of European travels, called "Views Afoot," which passed through several editions. Since then he has published a volume of ballads and other poems

under the title of "Rhymes of Travel," showing a marked improvement over his previous work, and two volumes of personal observations in California, entitled "El Dorado." The volume before us consists mostly of pieces which are now printed for the first time; but a few have appeared in the various periodicals to which he has been a frequent contributor. They are of various degrees of merit, and display an easy versification, a moderate fancy, and a winning tenderness of feeling. The principal poem in the collection is called "Mon-da-Min, or the Romance of Maize," and is founded on an Indian legend narrated by Mr. Schoolcraft. The story itself is much more simple and beautiful than most Indian fancies, and is very gracefully versified. The other pieces which strike us most favorably are Hylas, Manuela, Adrift, The Two Visions, and some of the small poems. It is, however, in ballad poetry that our author succeeds best; and we trust that we shall again hear from him in that path, or in a fresh volume of travels, — the fruit of his present wanderings in the Old World.

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1. *Fleming and Tibbins's French Dictionary abridged, with Tables of the Verbs, by* Charles Picot. Edited by J. Dobson. Philadelphia: E. H. Butler & Co. 1851. 12mo. pp. xxviii. and 724.
2. *The Serial and Oral Method of Teaching Languages; adapted to the French.* By L. Manesca. Philadelphia: Thomas, Cowperthwait, & Co. 1851. 12mo. pp. xxviii. and 535.
3. *French Reader.* By the same. 1851. 12mo. pp. 286 and 26.

These are text-books of very great merit. The Dictionary is by far the most complete within our knowledge, containing a large number of technical, colloquial, and newly coined words, such as we meet in French books of the day, and are usually compelled to interpret by analogy or conjecture. Manesca's father was the author of the Ollendorf method, which the son has embodied with judgment and skill in his first book, and to the further development of which the second is happily adapted.

Cicero on the Immortality of the Soul, with English Notes. By Thomas Chase, Tutor in Harvard College. Cambridge: Published by John Bartlett. 1851. 16mo. pp. 225.

This book contains every thing written by Cicero directly upon death and the survival of the soul, — writings of remarkable perspicuity, elevation, and elegance, and on a theme of transcendent interest. The editor has also collected here nearly all the

incidental allusions to the subject of immortality to be found in the voluminous works of the splendid Roman. A few such passages, however, we miss; for instance, the close of the first oration against Catiline. "Tum tu Jupiter, . . . hunc et hujus socios .... æternis suppliciis vivos mortuosque mactabis." The admirable and copious notes, drawn from the best sources, and the excellent Introduction, furnished by Mr. Chase, reveal a clear and discriminating judgment, purity of rhetorical taste, and choice and abundant critical information. They are alike a credit to the young editor, and a favor to the student.

Memoir of Edward Bickersteth. New York: Harper & Brothers. 2 vols. 12mo. pp. 398, 409.

We have read these volumes, and thereat take to ourselves a considerable share of credit; for although prefaced by an introduction from the elegant pen of Dr. Ting, they are more repulsive than attractive. They have few graces of style to recommend them, and none of the fervors of a poetic spirit. They are vitiated from beginning to end by a narrow orthodoxy, and abound in almost every page with the expletives and cant phrases of a sect.

And yet we have read the book with profit. Few works better show what a devout, earnest, self-forgetting, and self-devoted spirit may do; how much a single man, without superior original gifts, by his own energies, unaided except from above, never diverted, never suffered to relax, but consecrated to one great object, may accomplish. Mr. Bickersteth was a shrewd man and of an indomitable spirit, and in this view he takes a foremost rank among the Evangelical ministers and reformers of the age. In his sphere, he went along with the Buxtons of our own and the Baxters of Puritan times. His name has become associated with all the great social and religious movements of the day, and his memory is held dear by a large body of Evangelical churchmen in England and our own country.

He was born in Westmoreland, in 1786, and in early youth placed in the office of a solicitor in London, with the design of being educated as a lawyer. Here he displayed the same traits which distinguished him through his long life. We see him thus entering on a course of rigid religious discipline which he never relinquished, and of active charity which became more varied and grew with his course. At length he finds that he has mistaken his profession, that his sympathy, tastes, and habits all point to the Christian ministry. He renounces the business of the office, begins life again, enters upon a preparation for the ministry, and at length, at the age of twenty-nine, assumes the duties of his new profession. But scarcely has he been ordained when he

is appointed to select the missionary stations in Africa, and after some months' absence, and performing an acceptable service for the society by whom he is employed, he returns, and for fifteen years is employed in travelling from town to town through the counties of England, and communicates wherever he goes a portion of his own burning zeal. He is at length settled over a parish in Walton, in performing the parochial labors of which, and in public agencies, and in attending missionary meetings, far and near, he spends the remainder of his days, if with strength abated, at least with zeal unimpaired. He died at the age of sixty-three, leaving behind him a number of useful works on practical religion, and a position of moral authority and influence which has won for him lasting honor and gratitude in the Christian Church.

General History of the Christian Religion and Church: from the German of Dr. Augustus Neander. *Translated from the last Edition.* By Joseph Torrey, Professor of Moral and Intellectual Philosophy in the University of Vermont. Volume Fourth. Boston: Crocker & Brewster. 1851. 8vo. pp. 651.

We feel under very great obligations to the accomplished translator of this work for his persevering labor in a task to which but few of our German scholars would be equal. He gives us reason to hope that we shall yet have the work complete, according to Neander's first and unchanged purpose, which was to bring the history down to the times of the Reformation. This is incomparably the best history of the Christian Church that has ever appeared. The thorough scholarship of the author, his eminent fidelity, his life-long devotion to studies which presented his theme under all its relations, his freedom from all unworthy biases, and the childlike simplicity of his character, all qualified him for his work.

The present volume, which contains the fifth volume of the original, and gives us all which had appeared in print up to the time of the author's death, embraces topics of high interest in all the bearings of the one great theme, — historical, biographical, controversial, devotional, political, and personal. The wildest romance, the intensest interest of tragedy, alternate with dry scholastic topics. As we glance over the volume, preparatory to its thorough perusal, we say to ourselves, How strange a thing is the history of the Christian Church! How precious is that Gospel, the power and beauty of which can illuminate the sad and melancholy annals of the follies and sins of ages, while it utters a holy comment upon all that has transpired in connec-

tion with its own patient struggles to bless its friends and its foes!

Discourses and Essays on Theological and Speculative Topics. By Rev. Stephen Farley. Boston: Office of the "Christian Register." 1851. 12mo. pp. 400.

Within the same hour our eye fell upon this volume and upon the announcement of the decease of its author. While he lay upon his death-bed, an affectionate daughter wrote down at his dictation a paragraph of the Preface, which, with a modest appeal to the patronage of the public, introduces the volume to a kindly reception. The author had his full share in life's trials, and he bore them with Christian meekness. During his settlement as a pastor, his views were those in which he had been educated, — Calvinistic; and, like many of his contemporaries, he worked his own way to the light of the simple Gospel. A Scripture motto introduces each of the Essays in his volume. These are written in a simple style, and with that directness and force of statement which befit the familiar themes of which they treat, — the great religious topics of thought and popular instruction as drawn from the Bible. We hope that the work will find a welcome among those who knew the author, and who sympathized with him under his burdens. Many of our readers will recognize in the volume some pieces which they have perused in years gone by in the columns of the "Christian Register."

Scenes and Legends of the North of Scotland. By Hugh Miller. From the Second London Edition. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. 1851. 12mo. pp. 436.

We have been informed — we know not whether on good authority — that Mr. Miller was not anxious that this collection of his early writings should appear again. If this be true, he may have thought that his proud reputation as a man of science would not be advanced by drawing any attention to himself as a story-teller and a gatherer of traditions. In such a fancy he would be under a mistake. We believe the present delightful volume will win him a host of new readers. There is no country in the world which has such materials for interesting narratives of the kind here presented as Scotland. Rich in the lore of the heart, in all domestic incidents, in all wild legends, in all devout experiences and enterprises, as well as in many themes which lack the consecrating element, is that old land of the North. We advise the lovers of these rural, household, and mountainous scenes to possess themselves of Mr. Miller's charming volume.

The Literature and the Literary Men of Great Britain and Ireland. By ABRAHAM MILLS, A. M., Author of Lectures on Rhetoric and Belles Lettres, &c. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1851. 2 vols. 8vo. pp. 576, 598.

THE value of these two formidable volumes will depend upon the size and extent of the library into which they may ask admission. They will serve the purposes of a biographical dictionary of authors, and of a compend of literary extracts, and, so far, they will be of service to a large class of readers. They have no higher value, however, on the score of original criticism or more extensive research. Why the compiler has not, in express terms, acknowledged the amount of his indebtedness to the great work of Chambers (from which he has taken, without credit, scores of pages), we are at a loss to conceive. He could not suppose that the fact would pass unnoticed, and if he expected that his readers would take for granted so free a use of the labors of another, Mr. Mills must have contented himself with looking for a very moderate award to his own work.

The volumes contain forty-six lectures. Biography, history, criticism, and extracts, selected according to the compiler's taste and judgment, contribute to their contents. These will afford to readers of limited information a sufficiently copious treatment of the great theme which would not be exhausted by a hundred volumes.

The History of the Restoration of Monarchy in France. By ALPHONSE DE LAMARTINE. Vol. I. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1851. 12mo. pp. 530.

THE same mental qualities which would render Lamartine incompetent to write a sober history of a rational people, and of an ordinarily conducted series of events in the development of human fortunes, admirably fit him to write about France and the French, during the last half-century. His skill is marvellously suited to his themes and his materials. His brilliant style, his pictorial language, his command of metaphor, his gifts in the understanding and appreciation of such characters as he has to delineate, have enabled him to write about the recent fortunes of his own land, just as they ought to be written about. He now proposes to write the history of both Restorations. So far he has done well. Here we have Napoleon, Alexander, the Count d'Artois, Louis the Eighteenth, Talleyrand, and the Duke d'Enghien, all drawn to the life, with confident judgments passed upon them, and occasionally the revelation of a secret which we are to

receive on the author's credit. Lamartine says that he wrote his portrait of Marie Louise in her presence. His description of Napoleon's personal appearance is graphic and unreserved. We wait with considerable curiosity the subsequent pages of the tragi-comical history of the "volatile people."

Rule and Misrule of the English in America. By the Author of "Sam Slick, the Clock-Maker." New York: Harper & Brothers. 1851. 12mo. pp. 379.

THERE is a defiant spirit, a sort of recklessness in assertion, and a wild sweep of censorious judgment shown in this volume, which abate largely from the character which it seeks to deserve, as a judicious and fair essay upon a very pregnant theme. Judge Haliburton proceeds upon an idea which has been frequently advanced, and to authenticate which a formidable array of facts may be adduced. He maintains that the New England colonies always proceeded, in civil and ecclesiastical matters, as if they were, from the very beginning, independent of the mother country. So far as plausible pretensions were needed to cover this rebellious temper, when it would have been perilous to exhibit it openly, he is ready to show how easily they were assumed, and how successfully they deceived the authorities at home. To the blindness of Old England, when sharp sight would have been of service, and to an obstinate wilfulness when her eyes were partially opened, Judge Haliburton attributes the loss of her American colonies.

Episodes of Insect Life. By ACHETA DOMESTICA, M. E. S. New York: J. S. Redfield. 1851. 3 vols. 8vo. pp. 320, 326, 432.

THE press has not made us a richer present through the whole year, than in giving us a fac-simile reprint of the English edition of these three most charming and delightful volumes. The authoress, who takes the name of the "House Cricket," must have in her composition the elements of a most genial nature. She has here arrayed the wonderful little creatures which we call "insects" in all the artificial draperies of our human conventionalities, besides making a marvellously ingenious use of their own natural wealth of dress in the enrobings of their little frames. No one can pass the most insignificant insect unobserved, after having read these volumes, or fail to have some quaint moral or some

fanciful conceit start up in his mind in connection with their characteristic shapes and habits. Nor can any one feel sure that any thing advanced in these volumes is exaggerated, or untrue in substance. Who knows but that God has made these little creatures to be our monitors and our satirists? We most heartily commend these volumes to our readers, for their wealth of wisdom, as well as for their ingenuity of fancy. The volumes treat, respectively, of the insects of spring, summer, and autumn, and the morals which come from them will add new counsels to the rich instruction of the changing year.

The Life of John Sterling. By Thomas Carlyle. Boston: Phillips, Sampson, & Co. 1851. 12mo. pp. 344.

John Sterling was known, in life, to a small circle of admiring friends, among whom was Carlyle, as a man of an amiable and genial nature, not gifted or profound. There was no remarkable circumstance attending his brief career. For a short time he was a curate in the English church, and was one of that brotherhood in his profession whose sad confessions have been published, as giving their testimony to a state of mind, whether healthful or morbid, which was left unsatisfied by any form of Christian faith that relies upon the integrity of its historical records. We cannot but think that all these men have labored under a spiritual hypochondria, and that they have mingled their own "inarticulate groanings," and their exaggerated sensibilities, with the statement of the actual difficulties which invest revealed religion. Sterling was but thirty-eight years old when he died. He committed to two friends, Archdeacon Hare and Thomas Carlyle, his literary character and his printed works. Dr. Hare edited a collection of these writings, and prefixed to them a Memoir of the author, which fully satisfied our own idea of what friendship and fidelity to truth demanded of him. Some friends of Sterling, Carlyle among them, with, of course, better means of judging than we can have, thought otherwise. Hence this second Memoir. Its author, in phrases every way becoming and respectful towards his clerical co-executor, affirms that he made too much of Sterling's heresy, representing it as too large an element in the man and in his life, and so has failed to delineate the image of his being. We are glad that any reason or motive could be found for another Memoir, seeing that it was to be written by Carlyle, and is what it is. We do not think that Carlyle has gone to the other extreme, in his view of the bias of Dr. Hare's Memoir. Repeating what we have already expressed, that an exaggerated and unreasonable degree of importance has

been ascribed to the idiosyncrasies of the class to which Sterling belonged, we must say that we have read this book with delight. Its pages are highly engaging. If there were nothing in it beside the description of that clouded oracle, the mind of Samuel Taylor Coleridge, the book would be valuable. That part of it is inimitable in its raciness, its humor, and its wise and just appreciation.

Mutterings and Musings of an Invalid. New York: John S. Taylor. 1851. 12mo. pp. 281.

A DYSPEPTIC stomach is certainly no enemy to thought, though the workings and shapings of the mind's thought under that abnormal condition of the body are apt to have a very peculiar character of their own. While our young philosophers, male and female, feel that they have upon their spirits the duty of solving the problem of the universe, and of reconciling the jarring discords of the social state, and to that end utter their cries and their despair in books, we see not why dyspeptic stomachs may not seek relief in print. The book before us does in fact show that the right or privilege has been claimed. The author is grimly resolute in his "self-revelations." His morbid utterances are relieved, as were his feelings, by occasional gleams of hope and healthfulness. His pages are not without wisdom. They are crowded with terse and vigorous sentences, and prove a reflecting mind and a philosophic nature. Were it not for an edifying thought, and a submissive sentiment tinged with religious trust, here and there, we should censure some of the darker meditations of the volume.

The Christian's Daily Treasury: a Religious Exercise for every Day in the Year. By EBENEZER TEMPLE, Author of "The Domestic Altar," etc. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. 1851. 12mo. pp. 432.

THIS volume has already proved itself a welcome and edifying companion for the private hours of religious culture. It aims to be wholly Scriptural, and free from all sectarian bias. Under each day in the year a passage of Scripture is selected, and followed by a page — less or more — of leading suggestions, to develop and apply its instruction. These are in the manner of what is called the skeleton of a sermon, so that preachers and heads of families, who wish for such aids to their own thought, will find most efficient help in Mr. Temple's work.

A Wreath around the Cross: or Scripture Truths illustrated. By Rev. A. Morton Brown, Author of "The Leader of the Lollards," etc. With a Recommendatory Preface by John Angell James. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. 1851. 16mo. pp. 316.

This is another work similar in character to the above, though not so systematic and exhaustive. The class of persons who need and who read such books is very numerous, and they demand a large supply. We are glad to see them furnished and appreciated. The improved tone and substance of such books show a marked progress towards the apprehension of the true vital element of religion.

Our Campaign: or Thoughts on the Career of Life. By E. Winchester Reynolds. Boston: Phillips, Sampson, & Co. 1851. 16mo. pp. 336.

A text of Scripture, or a literary extract in prose or poetry, or a motto of his own, furnishes the author of this little volume with themes for sixteen essays. They embrace comments made in a right spirit, and in an earnest tone, upon the discipline and experience of human life, as presented by history and illuminated by the Gospel.

Life in Varied Phases: Illustrated in a Series of Sketches. By Mrs. Caroline H. Butler. Boston: Phillips, Sampson, & Co. 1851. 12mo. pp. 288.

There is a considerable range of a ready talent at observation and description in these stories. Some of them may be familiar, as having been already met with in separate publications. The volume will gratify those who love this mode of learning truth and finding amusement.

Epitaphs from Copp's Hill Burial-Ground, Boston, with Notes. By Thomas Bridgman. Boston and Cambridge: J. Munroe & Co. 1851. 12mo. pp. 260.

Common sense and wise legislation having so far succeeded as to prevent our city burial-grounds from becoming unwholesome nuisances, by the prohibition of any more interments in them,

except in tombs (an exception the privilege of which is now seldom used), the next step has been to guard those inclosures from outrage, and to beautify them. We are glad that Mr. Bridgman has undertaken the task, the first fruits of which we have before us. The inscriptions in the volume are prefaced with an historical introduction relating to the ancient cemetery, by John H. Sheppard, Esq., and followed by illustrative notes. We hope that Mr. Bridgman will be encouraged to pursue his labors, as he designs to do, if he has sufficient patronage, through the other burial-grounds of Boston, and those of the adjoining cities and towns.

The Camel Hunt; a Narrative of Personal Adventure. By Joseph W. Fabens. Boston and Cambridge: J. Munroe & Co. 1851. 12mo. pp. 219.

Always trusting that the writers of books of this class now-a-days, when truth is really stranger than fiction, strictly abide by the laws of verity, we read their pages with confidence. In these times of far wandering and wild adventure, we expect to be instructed and amazed by the reports of travellers. Mr. Fabens has done his part by recording his experiences on sea and land in California and at Mogadore.

Sketches of Boston, Past and Present, and of some few Places in its Vicinity. With One Hundred and Twenty Engravings. Boston: Phillips, Sampson, & Co. 1851. 16mo. pp. 246 and 112.

While we have noticed in this book a great many errors, most of them, however, in trivial matters, we are grateful to the publishers for presenting to us in its pages information which, so far as it was previously to be found in print, was scattered through many books. There are more occasions for the use of such a volume than all persons are aware of, and its value depends upon its doing completely and accurately what it professes to do at all. We notice many mistakes in reference to the Boston churches and their pastors, while there is no mention at all of the "Church of the Saviour," Rev. R. C. Waterston. The most valuable and thorough portion of the volume is that which relates to Cambridge and Harvard College.

From the press of John Wilson & Son has appeared a volume of most elegant typographical appearance, and on paper of a sumptuous beauty, entitled, "A History of the Massachusetts General Hospital. By N. I. Bowditch." (8vo. pp. 442.) Every thing relating to the origin, the growth, and the endowment of that noble institution, in both its branches, may be found in these pages. The wealth which has been bounteously bestowed by generous benefactors, united with the skill which has been devoted to the relief of human suffering, has contributed to a great work of mercy, which has found an appropriate record in these pages. The volume is not published.

Messrs. Ticknor, Reed, & Fields have published a second edition of Mrs. Lee's admirable Memoirs of Dr. Buckminster and his Son (12mo. pp. 492). The pleasure and instruction which this volume has already afforded to very many readers, are now likely to be extended to a still larger circle. The peculiarly touching sketches and incidents which it contains give it a character of its own, one which makes for it a way to the heart. We have been pleased to notice the manner of its reception among various denominations of Christians.

The same firm have published a fourth edition of James R. Lowell's beautiful poem, "The Vision of Sir Launfal"; also two pretty story-books for children, illustrated by Billings, entitled, "Tales from Catland, for Little Kittens. By an old Tabby" (16mo. pp. 114); and "Memoirs of a London Doll, written by herself. Edited by Mrs. Fairstar" (16mo. pp. 152).

Messrs. Phillips, Sampson, & Co. have published a new edition of Rev. S. Judd's popular story, "Margaret; a Tale of the Real and the Ideal." It now appears in two volumes. Original alike in its theme, its characters, its descriptions, and in its style, while this work treats of human nature, it deals with some New England phases of it. Its good spirit and its racy tone have secured for it the approval of the critics.

The Messrs. Harper have published, in a very handsome form, the second volume of the second division of Mr. Richard Hildreth's History of the United States. We have now five volumes, and one more will complete the work. The volume before us is devoted to the administrations of John Adams and Thomas Jefferson. We think the author and the publishers have done wisely in dividing the work by the war of the Revolution; for while our colonial history has been treated with fidelity and power, and to general satisfaction, in a multitude of works, our subsequent history has not been submitted to a methodical

and comprehensive treatment. We defer the expression of an opinion, either in general terms or in particulars, concerning Mr. Hildreth's labors, till we can deal with them in a complete form and with proper deliberation.

The same publishers have issued "Travels and Adventures in Mexico. By Wm. W. Carpenter, late of the United States Army." (12mo. pp. 300.) Together with some new particulars concerning the incidents of the war in Mexico, the author relates, with a skilful pen and with an air of verity, his own personal adventures in foot-journeys of more than twenty-five hundred miles, with sketches of the country and its resources, and pictures of the people, their life and manners.

From the same firm we have two more excellent text-books: "A Manual of Roman Antiquities, with Numerous Illustrations. By Charles Anthon, LL. D." (12mo. pp. 451); and "The Elements of Algebra, designed for Beginners. By Elias Loomis, M. A." (12mo. pp. 260). Dr. Anthon has employed all the classical studies of years, and has freely availed himself of the labors of others, in the composition of a compact and instructive volume, which will admirably serve the purpose designed in it. Professor Loomis has an established reputation in his science which will insure a most favorable introduction for any work from his pen. He begins the volume before us with very simple lessons, and passes on to the most abstruse.

The Messrs. Harper have undertaken a new edition, greatly improved and enlarged, of the series of volumes written some sixteen years ago by Jacob Abbott, and then very popular, under the titles of "The Young Christian," "The Corner-Stone," and "The Way to do Good." The first of the series has already appeared, elegantly illustrated with engravings.

From the same indefatigable firm we have "Life in the Sandwich Islands, or the Heart of the Pacific as it was and is. By Rev. Henry T. Cheever." (12mo. pp. 355.) The facts and descriptions contained in this volume are exceedingly interesting, apart from its other contents.

Lossing's Field Book of the American Revolution has reached in publication the seventeenth number, and is most deservedly a great favorite with readers old and young. We may say the same of Harper's Monthly Magazine, which for excellence and cheapness is the best publication of the kind for large classes of readers.

We have seen twelve numbers of Mayhew's work on London Labor and London Poor, now in process of publication by the Harpers. Its general plan we have already stated, and would again express our interest in it.

Messrs. C. S. Francis & Co. of New York have published in a very neat form the volume of Sermons by John James Tayler of Manchester, England, entitled "Christian Aspects of Faith and Duty," which we noticed in our last number.

Our readers who wish to be well informed from month to month concerning the productions of the press at home and abroad, will do well to procure the Literary Advertiser, which is published in the middle of each month by Mr. C. B. Norton of New York, on an elegant sheet, at the price of one dollar a year.

Under the title of "Arvine's Cyclopædia of Anecdotes of Literature and the Fine Arts," have appeared two numbers of a serial work, published by Messrs. Gould & Lincoln. A rich variety of interesting and instructive matter is offered in these pages, illustrated with engravings. We commend the undertaking as deserving of patronage, though we must say that the engravings are no addition to its attractions.

Sermons on the Railroad Jubilee.

The great Railroad Jubilee in Boston, on September 17th, 18th, and 19th, called out, as do all occasions now which represent our great political, social, civil, and commercial interests, appropriate sermons from many pulpits. These, being for the most part written only to meet the passing excitement of the hour, never reach the press, but remain in manuscript. A few such occasional sermons, however, are printed, and often become valuable years afterwards, as records of the age which produced them. Of the sermons called forth by the recent festival, we have seen in print the following: — A Discourse preached by Rev. Dr. Gannett of this city, on the Sunday before the Jubilee, appeared during the same week in the columns of the Boston Daily Transcript. In the Religious Magazine for October we have the sermon preached by Rev. F. D. Huntington, the editor of that monthly. The two discourses delivered in Hollis Street meeting-house, by the pastor, Rev. T. S. King, appear in the most elegant style of art from the press of John Wilson & Son. From the same press we have two discourses delivered in the First Congregational Meeting-House in Canton, Sept. 21 and 28, by the pastor, Robert P. Rogers. All these sermons are examples of the freedom of range allowed to the modern pulpit. The freedom is used to edification, and the views presented in them will help to prove that the enterprise and material prosperity of the age are by no means necessarily injurious in their influence upon moral and religious interests, but may be consecrated to the best good of us all.

INTELLIGENCE.

RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE.

The London District Unitarian Society on Ministerial Exchanges.— We have heretofore informed our readers of the existence and the purposes of a society, composed of ministers and laymen of the Unitarian denomination in and around London, formed for mutual improvement and the advancement of our cause. We always peruse the accounts of its meetings with interest. There is but the simplest kind of organization recognized in it; just enough to secure an orderly conduct of its meetings. Free fraternal discussions, social occasions, and courses of doctrinal lectures, have thus far proved its efficacy to answer the ends for which it was designed. At the fifth quarterly meeting of the society, held in London, August 20, the subject under discussion was, "Whether a more extended interchange of the pulpit services of ministers, in and about London, is desirable!"

Our brethren, and the members of our congregations in New England, who have been accustomed to very frequent pulpit exchanges, may not, perhaps, be aware how different, in this respect, is the custom that has prevailed among the Unitarians abroad. Here, our ministers in town and country have been in the habit of exchanging pulpit services on from one third to one half of the occasions of public worship. Our own opinion, in which, however, many brethren whose judgment we respect differ with us, is, that we have carried, and do carry, this business of "exchanges" too far. The tendency among us now is to curtail the number, and to compress the range of our "exchanges," and we think this tendency is, on the whole, in the right direction.

Nothing like our system of "exchanges" has ever prevailed in England. The exceptions have been rare in which the minister failed to be in his own chapel, and to conduct the services. Year after year, some ministers, as we have been told, have stood in their places without looking for relief, and if they have found it at all, it has been through the chance presence of a ministerial friend, or upon some extra service for an especial occasion. Nor has this usage prevailed in England because of the distances between the localities of Unitarian chapels, or the time or expense which would have been involved in making an "exchange." We should think nothing of such distances as those which divide even the extreme limits of England. Boston and New York are several miles wider apart than are London and Paris even, but our brethren in New York or Brooklyn do not think that they are making any very exorbitant demand, when they ask an "exchange" with a brother in Boston. But the English Unitarians have been accustomed to look for the regular appearance of each minister in his own pulpit, and have eschewed that love of variety which a system of "exchanges" would imply. The English ministers who have visited us have carried home with them a report of our custom in this particular, and we have noticed, of late, many references to the matter in their periodicals. As the subject had been under discussion at a meeting of the Unitarian ministers, the London District Society thought there was no impropriety in the laymen taking a part in it.

The chairman of the meeting, James Yates, Esq., formerly a minis-

ter in Glasgow, referred to the usage among the Protestant ministers in Germany and France, by which a perfect system of ministerial exchanges was established; the arrangement being formally announced on printed cards, giving the place and the date where and when each of the associated pastors would preach. He approved of some such arrangement, or of the spirit of it, in England.

The Rev. J. O. Squier read a paper on the subject, written for a Ministers' Conversation Meeting, in which he advocated a regular system of exchanges, and gave his reasons for it. The Independents (Calvinistic Dissenters) had such a system in effect in their practice. Wesley laid so much stress upon ministerial exchanges, that he imposed the rule by which the ministers in his connection were limited to a three years' occupancy of one pulpit. Mr. Squier suggested a plan, which admitted of an exchange by each minister on one Sunday in a month. The Rev. D. Davison objected strongly to any plan in the case. Mr. Preston, a layman, favored the plan. He thought it would greatly help to relieve three evils from which the Unitarians suffered in their best interests. It would tend to prevent that isolation and extreme independency among the societies, which were unfavorable to their prosperity; it would lead them to think less of the mere instruction, and more of the worship, in the sanctuary; and it would repress some of that hypercriticism by which pulpit discourses were judged.

Several other speakers who took part in the discussion gave reasons for and against the measure proposed. The arguments on either side are too obvious to need rehearsal. As might be supposed, the general conclusion was, that, while it would be wholly impracticable to attempt any specific plan for regular ministerial exchanges, a certain number of them would be desirable and of good tendency. We notice that at a meeting held at Birkenhead, near Liverpool, on occasion of the completion of a new chapel there, in which the Rev. R. L. Carpenter is to minister, remarks were made upon the same subject. The Rev. James Martineau of Liverpool gave as a reason why he could not yield to his own desire for exchanges, that he had a lecture during the hour preceding his morning service, and a class of young women to instruct after it; labors which he could not well commit to another. It would appear from this statement that he is one of the most laborious of ministers, as well as one of the most gifted writers, in Great Britain.

The Catholic Defence Association. — The passage of the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill in the English Parliament, by which the assumption of a territorial title by any other than a dignitary of the English Church is rendered a penal offence, has excited both the indignation and the open contempt of large numbers of the Roman Catholics of Ireland. A meeting was held in Dublin on the 19th of August, at which the "Catholic Defence Association" was formed, and some warm speeches were uttered. The Irish primate, Dr. Cullen, presided, but it was evident that he was not prepared to run the risk of much boastfulness. Irish rebellions, as experience has heretofore proved, are not much to be dreaded on the score of the heroism which they may call forth, when the time comes for exchanging bluster and plotting for deeds and blows. And lawsuits against Irish rebels have also proved, that whatever evasion and timidity and the eating of one's own words can avail towards averting the legal penalty will always be fully tasked, at the expense of true manliness. Cardinal Wiseman was too wise, as were also some other of the

Roman priests and prelates of England and Ireland, to give their presence to the aforesaid meeting, though his Eminence sent a letter, which means little or nothing, according as it is interpreted. Our last accounts mentioned, as a matter of rumor, that prosecutions would at once be instituted under the new bill, and that the penalty for its infraction would be unflinchingly inflicted.

Dr. Cullen enlarged most plaintively upon the English oppression of Ireland, but he forgot to mention the fifty millions of dollars which Protestant England gave, in charity, to relieve the distress of Papal Ireland. Dr. Ullathorne, who, we believe, was the only Romanist bishop from England that attended the meeting, had an eye towards an easy way of paying the penalty of £100 for taking his territorial title. He said he was prepared to go to gaol, but that he had come to the conclusion that it would not be right for him to use the purse which had been confided to him for the support of religion. But if his spiritual children in Birmingham felt the want of their pastor, it would be no acquiescence in the penal act, but a strong protest against it, for them to raise a fund, by a penny subscription, for his liberation. A shrewd suggestion. The Rev. Dr. Cahill, who writes from the Catholic College at Londonderry, thus utters himself: —

"But, fellow-countrymen, England shall not have every thing her own way. *We are now forming a society such as has never been seen in Ireland before.* It will be a society fairly embodying the mind and the heart and the service of every man, woman, and child in the kingdom, and we shall live and die in defence of the decision of this new and glorious, and, with the blessing of God, successful association. Depend upon it, that England has sapped her own foundations. Depend upon it, that France is not settled, and that France owes England a grudge which never will or can be forgiven. *There is not one Frenchman, or one Frenchwoman, or one French child, who would not dance with frantic joy at the glorious idea of having an opportunity, before they die, of burying their eager swords, and plunging their crimsoned French steel, in the inmost heart of every man bearing the hated name of Englishman.* Therefore keep up your courage, and wait your opportunity in a strictly legal attitude, and *England will very soon be in your power* We shall now demand perfect equality with our oppressors, we shall demand the complete annihilation of the temporalities of the Protestant Church, and I tell you we shall have all England at our back; we shall have the moral support of Europe, and of the civilized world."

These atrocious sentiments, boldly uttered, may be allowed to pass for what they will be worth in the minds of all calm observers of what appears to be a very threatening strife. Dr. Cahill seems, at least, to rely on a remarkable shortness of memory on the part of the Irish, as to the efficiency of the French aid afforded in the Irish Rebellion, when France had not so much business of her own to attend to as she has now.

Christianity in India. — A meeting of a very interesting character had been held in Calcutta, just before the date of our last advices. As it is one in a series of incidents, which, within the last two or three years, have recognized the presence of Christianity in heathen lands, and its active antagonism with other religions, to much more purpose than all similar facts of two score years previously, we have thought it worthy of peculiar notice. The occasion was no less than that of a convention of orthodox Hindoos, held in Calcutta, the object of which was to devise some means for resisting the steadily advancing encroachments of Christian missionaries. The meeting was freely opened to all who wished to

attend. Reporters were present, and were allowed to take down the resolutions and the speeches. These were printed, in full, in the English newspapers in India, and the debates, with the various comments of the different journals upon the subject, have been reprinted in a pamphlet. The main point under discussion was, whether the existing severe conditions, on which alone an apostate Hindoo, or convert to Christianity by baptism, could be restored to his former religion and fellowship, might be relaxed. The present mode of purification requires, for the restoration of the apostate, that he should wander as an ascetic for forty-eight years, and submit to other hard conditions, the severity of which is such as virtually to forbid any real restoration. We do not know, indeed, whether any one ever undertook to comply with these terms. They operate equally well for Hindoism and Christianity.

The chairman of the meeting — which was under the control of the most rigid and anti-liberal party — was Raja Radhakunta Deb. He opened the proceedings by inquiring into the objects of the party which had summoned them together. The spokesman of the party announced, that they had been greatly troubled by the recent conversions to Christianity, and that it was evident that a strong and zealous movement must be made to resist the progress of the work of conversion through the missionaries. The only practical expedient that occurred was, to mollify the terms of purification, and thus to win back the converts. In the course of his remarks, he ventured to abuse the missionaries, and was rebuked by the chairman, who said that they were acting only under a sense of duty. A discussion then ensued, as to an attempt to prevent the young from learning English, and it was agreed by all that this would be absurd and useless. One speaker said that it would be better to do without English knowledge, than to risk the orthodoxy of their families. But he was answered, that, "if English did not lead to heaven, it did to wealth."

The question to be submitted to the Pundits was then read aloud, as follows: — "If a Hindoo forfeits the privileges of his caste and religion, by partaking of forbidden food, and frequenting places and observing practices in contravention of the injunctions of the Shasters, knowingly and deliberately; and if he afterwards express his contrition, and prays to be restored to his privileges, can he not be entitled to perform the ceremony of absolution, and thereby procure redemption?" A very large majority of the assembled Pundits at once answered in the affirmative. But the final decision does not rest with them. The question must be submitted to the most learned men in different parts of the country. The chairman announced that the Maharajah of Nuddea, the oracle of Bengal, was in favor of that decision. The milder form of absolution proposed requires "the presentation of some hundred kine, and some kahuns of cowries, to the Brahmins." The cows may be compounded for at their ancient trifling value "in the golden age, before the beef-eating English conquered the country." The money fine is small, and is to be graduated by the rank of the re-convert.

The *Bombay Guardian* doubts whether the resolutions adopted at Calcutta will be approved by the Brahmins in the other presidencies. The same paper suggests that this liberal Hindoo measure may favor hypocrisy; as some professed converts may now be induced nominally to adopt Christianity, without feeling that they sever themselves eternally from their old faith, and, after having sold themselves to the missiona-

ries, may still make profitable terms with the Brahmins. This fear is already so far entertained by the missionaries, as to lead them to refuse many who daily apply for baptism. Still, the whole aspect of the movement is promising. The true issue is between a pure Gospel and a decrepit superstition.

Autumnal Convention of Unitarians at Portsmouth, N. H. — The title of "Convention," applied to the annual Autumn gathering of members of the Unitarian denomination, might mislead many persons as to the purpose of the meetings, and seem but poorly warranted by the method of their organization or the nature and results of the business done at them. Only two modes of organizing and conducting the assemblages of members of a religious denomination are possible. The one is that which is adopted in Episcopal conventions, where there are rigid rules and established canons to be followed, and where the business proceeds by orderly routine, and admits of an authoritative issue, however much of open contention or of smothered dissent may be found among the members. The other mode of conducting a religious denominational convention is that which we have adopted, in which the organization is barely sufficient to serve the purpose of the meeting, and the utmost freedom of debate that the proprieties of the case allow is admitted, and no results are aimed at which shall fetter conscience, opinion, or ecclesiastical liberty. The latter course will often give our meetings the aspect of an aimless, purposeless assembly, but they will never seem to be discordant, if for no other reason than that they are not expected to be harmonious, in the ecclesiastical sense of the word. This method of ours is likewise favorable to all the social and fraternal enjoyments of the occasion. The only anomaly in our meetings heretofore has been, the introduction and passage of resolutions, by which the absent as well as the present are more or less committed. This nuisance is now precluded.

The weather during the three days of the assemblage at Portsmouth, October 7th, 8th, and 9th, was the glory of our year, the softest and richest portion of the brief Indian summer. The hospitality of the citizens — not confined to the members of our own body there — was of the most generous character. The opening services were held in the Stone Church of the South Parish (Rev. A. P. Peabody's) on the evening of Tuesday, the 7th, the beautiful edifice being filled in every part. The discourse, by Rev. Thomas T. Stone of Salem, was of an eminently devotional and spiritual tone, admirably suited to induce the best frame of mind for the whole season which was to keep us together. His text was 2 Corinthians iv. 10, latter clause.

A meeting for conference and prayer was held at an early hour on Wednesday morning, and at 9 o'clock the Convention was organized by the choice of the following officers: Rev. Dr. Nichols of Portland, Me., as President. Rev. Dr. Parkman of Boston, Barnabas Bates, Esq. of New York, and Rev. Mr. Cole of Hallowell, Me., as Vice-Presidents. Rev. Mr. Bond of Dover, N. H., and Rev. Mr. Willson of Grafton, as Secretaries. The President offered prayer, and made some introductory remarks, after which Deacon Foster, in a most felicitous manner, welcomed the assembled guests.

The Business Committee had proposed the following topics for discussion: —

1. Theological Education, — its True Standard, and the best Means of promoting it.

2. The Religious Education of the Young, — Christian Nurture, and the Ordinances in their relation to Christian Nurture.

3. Social Reforms, — What are the Christian means of advancing them?

4. Christian Union, — Are there satisfactory signs of its increase, and what are the grounds of hope for it?

The discussions of the two days were principally confined to the first two topics, taken in their widest bearings and relations, with the incidental suggestions which they called up, and occasionally reaching to the fourth topic. The third subject was not discussed.

The names of the brethren whose voices were heard in the debates, on Wednesday and Thursday, were as follows: The Moderator, Dr. Nichols, Brigham of Taunton, Allen of Bangor, Gannett of Boston, Hedge and Hall of Providence, Hill and Hale of Worcester, Bellows of New York, Muzzey of Cambridge, Ellis of Charlestown, S. Greele, Esq. of Boston, Judd of Augusta, Waterston of Boston, Farley of Brooklyn, Hon. S. Hoar of Concord, Osgood of Cohasset, Pierpont of Medford, Holland of East Cambridge, G. W. Warren, Esq. of Boston, Judge White of Salem, Palfrey of Belfast, Burton of Boston, Harrington of Hartford, Thayer of Beverly, and Hon. A. Fearing of Boston.

A discourse was preached on Wednesday evening by Rev. F. D. Huntington of Boston, from Phil. iii 3. After the evening services in the church a Levee was given by the women of the society in Congress Hall, which was the scene of true Christian hospitality and pure happiness.

When the hour drew near for the dispersion of the Convention, a proper acknowledgment was made for the kindness which the guests had received in Portsmouth, and the Rev. A. P. Peabody gave expression to reciprocal feelings of regard.

The only measure of the Convention in the nature of business was the choice of a committee (consisting of Rev. Drs. Parkman, Gannett, Young, and Hill, Hon. D. A. White, G. B. Emerson, Esq., and Rev. G. E. Ellis), to consider what measures, if any, can be taken, for the *further* promotion of theological education at Cambridge, or elsewhere, with full powers to fill vacancies in the Committee, and to act in the premises as their best judgment may direct.

Many of the remarks made in the Convention had reference to the claims of theological education at the present day. It was generally felt that the institution at Cambridge, which our generous laymen had founded and endowed, deserved from us warmer sympathy and increased support. The arduous labors of the two Professors demand for them the aid of another instructor. There are still some delicate and difficult considerations involved in the subject. The embarrassing relations which the School holds to the College, and through the College to the legislative authority of the State, check the liberality of the friends of the institution, alienate from it the interest of many, and may be increased in time to come by contingencies which we have no occasion to specify here. If it be in the power of the Committee to procure added funds for the School, and to suggest any wise and just course by which certain existing embarrassments may be relieved, and certain possible contingencies be averted, we shall rejoice in their success.

While attending our conventions, the thought has often been in our mind that there is among us a tendency to regret, and even censure, the natural results of the exercise of that spiritual and mental liberty which was our first claim against the whole world of dogmatists. We see among us what we call great varieties of opinion. Should we not rather call them varieties in the expression or manifestation of the emotional elements of our nature, depending upon mental idiosyncrasies, upon different depths and ranges of speculative insight, and upon the hues cast over our conceptions or delineations of Scriptural truth from our various intimacies with religious books or religious persons? There certainly is a large amount of the material and aliment of religious views and opinions, which has not been exclusively appropriated by any class of Christians. We long ago silenced the absurd pretension that certain phrases or words, whether Scriptural or conventional, had been so fondly employed by the so-called Orthodox, as to have passed into their exclusive possession. We claimed the right to use any such phrases or words, with the meaning — whether the same or different — which we believed attached to them. Why should we not have our free range also amid the themes and speculations, the shadings of opinions, and the materials even of an individual eclecticism presented to us by the whole realm of Christian theology, with its substratum of dogma and its atmosphere of mysticism? We certainly must look for variety of result when we open such a field, and set every mind at large in it.

Nor was there any thing in the position assumed by our predecessors in the Unitarian controversy which defined at all points a complete system of theology for us, — a system which holds us to its rigid maintenance. We are faithful in our allegiance to essential Unitarianism, when we take our stand upon some four or five great points of doctrine, which are at issue between us and Trinitarians. The ground on which we claim Milton, Newton, Locke, and Clarke as Unitarians, will not permit us to multiply the doctrines or open questions on which a man must commit himself in order to bear our party name. The points contested in our great issue were few, and though as far as they went they were paramount and vital, yet even in them there was left a range for diversity of opinion, as to their just apprehension in idea, and their exact statement in words, while there lay outside of them a large field of uncontested territory, which no Christian denomination could presume to monopolize. Simple Unitarianism is not committed to the belief or to the denial of the preëxistence of Christ; nor to any dogmatic view of the whole signification and effect of the Christian ordinances; nor to any positive construction of the terms of Christian symbolism; nor to any tone, didactic, rhetorical, mystic, or transcendental, in which the joys of the believer or the visions of the dreamer are to be spoken. We suppose, indeed, that our hymn-books are no unfair exponents of our theological freedom, of our committal on some points, and of our perfect freedom on others to range over the whole field of Christian doctrine, sentiment, and fancy.

This being our own understanding of the amount and the terms of our sectarianism, and of the extent of our committal to any thing like a religious system, we expect to find great variety of opinion in our body. This variety of opinion always has attached to us. It prevented from the very beginning the assumption of any sectarian name among us; for the name *Unitarian* was rather given than taken, rather imputed

than claimed. It prevented, it always has prevented, we believe that it always will prevent, the complete success of any organized association designed to include all who are really Unitarians. We are perfectly reconciled to this condition; we would not alter it if we might.

But now comes up the question, Have the few but paramount and vital points of doctrine, which from the first were assumed and maintained by Unitarians, lost their hold upon our convictions or our allegiance? Have we any semi-Trinitarianism (we have tried three times before we could write the word for the printer; we trust we shall not have to speak it in the day of account), — have we any semi-Calvinism among us? Do the excursions which some of our brethren make into ecclesiology, which others make into Bushnellism, which others still make into mysticism, betoken any disloyalty to our early doctrinal banner? We think not. Whatever other objections we may have to any "developments" of this sort among our brethren, we have yet to learn of any disavowal of the essential principles of Unitarianism.

We certainly have no objection to a wise and generous eclecticism, but we are concerned that any one who makes it his method to pick and choose from all existing systems should pick and choose the best. There is a kind of eclecticism which we do not applaud. We can scarce define it better than by calling to mind the Irish speculator in the relics of martyrs. At a time when a thumb-bone or a tooth brought a great price, this ingenious eclectic went about offering for sale the jaw-bone of All-Saints. The jaw-bone, for theological purposes, is one of the least valuable elements, even in eclecticism. In the religious journals of the two parties which constitute the Congregational body in New England, we read much that indicates what in general terms may be called a Unitarian tendency in the Orthodox, and an Orthodox tendency in the Unitarian. Yet after we have endeavored with our best ability to appreciate the exact amount of approximation which any members of either party have made towards the other, we certainly do not find that any concessions of importance have been made on our side. In the mean while, we are more confused and mystified than enlightened by such developments on both sides. As we read the religious papers and many of the occasional discourses of the Unitarian and Trinitarian Congregationalists, we see a dissatisfaction with the dogmatic forms of their respective doctrinal tenets, an uneasy spirit, and a straining after some new hypothesis, or some different statement of doctrinal formulas. But when we look for results, or ask what after all comes of these speculations, we find a mountain of rhetoric to a grain of intelligible truth of a new sort.

It is not to be wondered at that we should have among ourselves some "tendencies" answering to those which are manifested by our Orthodox brethren. However much or little significance we may attribute to the brisk word-fencing, the brilliant rhetoric, and the ingenious exaggeration of trifling distinctions, which abound in the recent pamphlets of Professor Park and in some of Dr. Bushnell's productions, the authors insist upon it that they have not departed, by a hair's breadth, from the old standard of Trinitarian Orthodoxy. If this be true, then they give us, after all, nothing but rhetorical flourishes where we think we are to have mental protests against old notions, and prophetic announcements of new views. That there has been something of the same sort of rhetorical skill exhibited among us in declaring old Unitarianism to be effete

and lifeless, and in uttering the promise of some new fashionings of doctrinal belief, we will not deny. But something more than a combination of rhetoric, smoke, and moonshine is essential for the statement and defence of any one great doctrine of faith; to say nothing of how much else is needed in the development of a new system of doctrine, which proceeds upon the supposed falsity of all existing systems, and claims the high honor of freshness, and of an entirely Scriptural and Christian sanction, for itself. We are not inclined to exalt any passing "development," or any lucubration of the superficial theologians of the present day, into a cause of alarm, or to regard it as deserving of an elaborate examination. The conditions by which any doctrinal system, new or old, may claim to receive a patient and sustained attention, have been well established before our day. When a Christian scholar, after the manner of the old theologians, like Ames or Cudworth, or Edwards or Priestley, sits down to his great task, and, with a thorough review of the field before him, and an assiduous and comprehensive study of truth in the Bible and out of the Bible, aims to develop the Divine method, and to set it forth in formulas of faith, he has a claim upon the respectful regard of all Christian ministers. But when, amid the incessant demands now made upon brethren to please and edify with their pens, to indite editorials, to give forth criticisms, or to produce an occasional sermon, when, under this pressure upon their minds, they have to address other minds all unsettled and undecided, it is not to be expected that there will be perfect consistency or very thorough instruction in their productions. Still less can we look for much novelty in the statement or development of Scriptural truth. We have been preceded by a race of hard students and deep thinkers. Every conceivable shade and shaping of theological opinion has been anticipated. The great fundamental theories and distinctive points of belief, to a choice between the acceptance or rejection of which we must for the most part confine ourselves, have been well defined. The obscurity of words, or their gradual change of signification, will afford materials for much seeming diversity of opinion among those who are skilled in words; but new ideas, new doctrines, new systems of faith, which shall at the same time approach nearer to the substance of the old Gospel, will be very rare.

Installations. — Rev. William O. White, late of West Newton, was installed as pastor of the Congregational Church at Keene, N. H., on Wednesday, October 1. The services on the occasion were as follows: — Introductory Prayer by Rev. Mr. Crosby of Charlestown, N.H.; Selections from Scripture by Rev. O. B. Frothingham of Salem; Sermon by Rev. J. H. Morison of Milton; Prayer of Installation by Rev. Dr. Gannett of Boston; Charge by Rev. Dr. Leonard of Dublin, N. H.; Fellowship of the Churches by Rev. Mr. Tilden of Walpole, N. H.; Address to the Society by Rev. F. D. Huntington of Boston; Concluding Prayer by Rev. E. E. Hale of Worcester.

Rev. Frederick W. Holland, late General Secretary of the American Unitarian Association, was installed as pastor of the Unitarian Church at East Cambridge, on Sunday evening, October 12. The Devotional Exercises were by Rev. Messrs. Calvin Lincoln and F. D. Huntington of Boston; Rev. F. T. Gray of Boston read Selections from the Scriptures; Rev. Dr. Gannett of Boston preached the Sermon; and Rev. G. E. Ellis of Charlestown addressed the Society.

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